# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-166
Tuesday
27 August 1991

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*FBIS-EEU-91-166* *27 August 1991*

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## Alia Urges Stricter Army Order, Discipline

*AU2608162891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic, met today with Defense Minister Perikli Teta and Chief of the General Staff Kostaq Karoli. The president inquired about the current situation in the Army, especially in the units in the country's northern and northeastern regions. After hearing the relevant reports, the president ordered stricter order and discipline in the Army. It is also necessary to increase cooperation with the state authorities, the political parties, the forces of order, and the justice organs, and with families, to clarify military (?duties), and to stress the need to enforce order and discipline in the Army. It was said at the meeting that the law must be enforced against those who violate the regulations. In particular, mention was made of the need to increase vigilance and care in guarding the border, avoiding provocations of all kinds.

The president pointed out that the situation in Yugoslavia remains serious and fraught with armed conflicts. Discrimination against Albanians is becoming more common. There is an evident threat to the Albanians in Kosovo and elsewhere. We want the Albanians to achieve what all the other peoples of Yugoslavia want on a peaceful and democratic road. The crisis and a loss of reason could lead the Serbs into provocations. The situation must therefore be closely watched, so that we will never be caught unaware.

## Kapllani Discusses South Korean Relations

*SK2308111891 Seoul YONHAP in English 1103 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, Albania, Aug. 23 (OANA-YONHAP)—Albania's relations with North Korea will no longer be a stumbling block to its intention to normalize ties with South Korea, Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani said Thursday [22 August], strongly indicating Albania is ready to establish diplomatic ties with South Korea.

Kapllani, in an exclusive interview with Yonhap News Agency, said it is now time for the two countries to go further than simple diplomatic normalization and lay strong foundation for bilateral cooperation.

It is true that Albania failed so far in earning South Korea's interest, but diplomatic ties is certain to bring mutual benefits, Kapllani said.

Albania abandoned its exclusionist diplomacy and will not ignore one nation because it is close with the other, the foreign minister said, referring to Tirana's position on relations improvement with Seoul.

Albanian foreign policy now stresses mutual dependence, and democratic reforms within the country are being pursued according to this policy, Kapllani said.

Despite his country's determination for reforms, Albania is in confusion as to what kind of actions to take, the foreign minister said.

Albania will need cooperation from other nations to clear out the confusion, he said, requesting active assistance from South Korea.

## Greek Ambassador Mallikurtis Discusses Aid

*AU2508185091 Tirana ATA in English 1739 GMT 25 Aug 91*

[Report on interview with Greek Ambassador Stylianos Mallikurtis in RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE; date not given]

[Text] Tirana, August 25 (ATA)—The newspaper "RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE" carries an interview with the Greek Ambassador in Tirana, Mr. Stylianos Mallikurtis, regarding the aids Greece has granted Albania recently. It says among other things:

Aids worth over 150 million drachmas accorded by the Greek Red Cross for the Albanian Red Cross have arrived in Albania so far. This quantity is part of the great programme of the Greek Red Cross for humanitarian aids. These humanitarian aids include food items, medicines, clothing, medical apparatuses, etc. A great quantity of this aid is expected to arrive these days.

The Ambassador Mallikurtis says further on that the second programme includes governmental aids. This is a programme we proposed to the Albanian party by the end of July. This programme envisages distribution of food items for 20 thousand persons from Sarande to Shkoder. The aids will be distributed through the Greek vehicles and the Albanian party agreed with this programme, to be applied by the middle of September. This aid will amount to the tune of 45 million of drachmas, for the first stage. The programme will continue for a long term.

Another agreement between the two countries, the Ambassador underlines, includes an aid worth 15 million drachmas, destined mainly for southern Albania, especially for the minority villages. At this point, the Ambassador says, I want to point to our gratefulness to your country for the good conditions created to the Greek minority. There exists also another Greek economic aid, a loan worth 20 million dollars to buy the Greek goods Albania [word indistinct].

Likewise, the Ambassador Mallikurtis pointed out in his interview that these days the main topic of discussion is the European Community and the [words indistinct] aid for Albania. It is decided upon an aid of 50,000 tons of wheat for Albania.

## De Michelis, Bufi Speak at 12 Aug News Conference

*AU2608094591 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Aug 91 pp 1,4*

[Shkelqim Beqari, Sokol Gjoka report on meeting between Premier Ylli Bufi and Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis, with a subsequent news conference, in Tirana on 12 Aug: "The Albanians Must Build Their Own Lives in Albania"]

[Text] Albanian Prime Minister Ylli Bufi said at the start of his meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis that, as a token of friendship with Albania, Italy has assisted the democratic processes in our country. Unfortunately, it is the exodus that has led to our meeting this time, and I hope that our next meeting will not be caused by an exodus. We do not want exoduses, because they are no way of solving Albania's problems today or in the future. On other occasions too, we have said that democratic processes are irreversible. In this context, I wish to thank the Italian Government for the support that it has given.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis said that you received me like a friend in Albania. We were obliged to meet in a situation of tension. It seems that transition from isolation to democratic processes is at the cost of this transitional period. I hope that better days will come through the intensification of our cooperation. This will be achieved through our agreements and ties of various kinds. We are obliged to enforce our laws against Albanian refugees. These events have grieved the Italians. However, this does not mean that the Albanians should take this gesture from the Italian side as a sign of hostility. We want the Albanians to build their own lives in Albania. We are not here to discuss the reasons that led to the exodus, but how to solve this issue. The Albanian people are passing through a difficult transitional period. Our cooperation will help to reduce social tensions. We must have no more exoduses, but must have individual visits to each other and the transportation of goods.

De Michelis and Bufi later continued their meeting. They later gave a news conference to Albanian and Italian journalists.

[Bufi] We had constructive talks with the Italian side, not only about stopping such negative phenomena as this exodus, but about ensuring fruitful bilateral cooperation that will assist Albania's economic development and help us build a democratic and pluralist society. We consider De Michelis' proposals useful. They will be an important contribution to Albania's economic and political development.

[De Michelis] I came to Tirana today to explain not only to the government but also to the Albanian people that Italy's step in repatriating the Albanian refugees must not be considered a negative and aggressive act. Italy is committed to the processes of reform taking place in Albania. We agree to the idea also approved by the Albanian Government that the solution to the problems of the Albanians, especially Albanian young people, lies in Albania and not abroad. The Albanian Government's readiness to cooperate matches Italy's desire to help. By taking the step it did, Italy does not wish to reconsider its economic, political, and social ties with Albania. What happened in recent days is merely a symptom of a very difficult situation. The only way to avert dangers in the future, and these dangers at present exist, is to boost the Albanians' confidence in their future. In order to achieve this, the Albanian Government must be supported as it carries out reforms. Concrete steps must be taken to restore people's confidence. I talked about this with Prime Minister Bufi.

There are two ways of helping Albania. The first is through international aid through large European and international institutions, such as the EEC, the Group of 24, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the IMF, etc. We discussed today a plan for Albania's needs until the end of 1992. This program was not possible two months ago, but now that the government has defined the aims of its reform, it is now feasible. Italy is cooperating with Albania, and Albania will have the necessary aid that other countries have obtained as a necessary condition for passing through this difficult transitional period. Italy aims to accompany this aid with short-term aid for the next three to four months, until the end of this year. This will prevent the situation in Albania deteriorating to the point at which the people would deny the Albanian Government its credibility. If such measures are not taken, other exoduses will occur and the future of reforms in Albania will be undermined. Italy will shoulder full responsibility for the second kind of aid.

We agreed with the Albanian Government today about four measures we will take. The first is to guarantee general food aid for the months of September, October, and November. We will give 30 billion lire, in other words a total of 90 billion lire. We are compiling lists of the most vital foodstuffs that we will send in the coming months. Meanwhile, a further 90 billion lire will be granted to secure raw materials for Albanian industry, which includes 30 billion lire already agreed on but not delivered, plus a further 60 billion lire that we will now give for this purpose. A sea bridge will be created, based on the Albanian ports of Durres and Vlore, so that continuous supplies will be guaranteed. In cooperation with the Albanian Government, we will consider ways of distributing the aid throughout Albania. These three months will be sufficient to organize international food aid for the coming six- month period. Second, aid must be granted to Albanian industry. I will take with me today the necessary list of the raw materials to be ensured in September, also bearing in mind the credit of 30 billion lire I promised two months ago. By the end of August, the Albanian and Italian governments will make known to the public in Albania and abroad the list of industrial branches in which work will begin on the basis

of Italian raw materials to be granted as aid. I am bearing in mind here that the minimum annual demands of Albanian industry amount to $200 million. Third, there will be aid for the Albanian educational system in order to permit schools to be reopened, if necessary in October. At least the minimal resources that Albanian schools need will be provided. This aid is of course not included in the list of other aid, but will be granted to enable the Albanian education system to function normally. The fourth point concerns cooperation between public order institutions. A meeting next week between Italian Interior Minister Scotti and the Albanian minister of public order will define ways and means of cooperation, so that a political, economic, and social crisis may be avoided. This will permit the enforcement of the decisions made by the Italian Government last Saturday [10 Aug]. The two principal points are to establish cooperation between our navies in patrolling our coasts, to establish a computerized signals system, and to base two groups of specialists in Durres and Vlore to escort and control the sea routes to be established between Durres and Vlore on one side and Italy on the other. Members of an Italian defense delegation will come to Tirana on Tuesday [14 Aug] in order to organize these plans in cooperation with their Albanian colleagues. We feel very committed in this direction. I must sincerely say that these measures perhaps will not exclude some undesirable episodes in the future. Greece also has similar problems with Albanians, and has more Albanians than we do. Such phenomena are also present in the case of Romania, etc. It is our duty to strive to eliminate as far as possible these negative phenomena. The Italian government undertakes this task in a spirit of sincere friendship.

Some people in Italy have called Italian aid an attempt to turn Albania into a protectorate. I say that this is not the position of the Italian Government. Of course, the Italian people are helping the Albanian people because Albania is a neighboring country. Solving the Albanian problem is in the hands of the Albanians and the Albanian Government alone. We will do everything to help Albania without casting ourselves in the role of a big brother and without wishing to supplant the Albanians in their duties. Regardless of the events of recent days, we will continue to strengthen our friendly relations, which are in fact increasing at a government level. As Italian foreign minister, I understand the feeling of bitterness prevailing in Tirana, although we could not have acted otherwise. These feelings must in the future be turned into a feeling of friendship between our two peoples. There is no other solution but cooperation if we are to avert a repetition of such exoduses, which are not in either Albania's or Italy's interest.

De Michelis and Bufi then answered the following questions of Italian and Albanian journalists:

[Question] What were the causes of the Albanian exodus?

[Bufi] The causes of the exodus must be sought in the economic crisis and the crisis of confidence among the people, which make the future uncertain for them. There is no other reason. The way to stem this exodus is to overcome these economic difficulties. There is also only one way to accomplish this, through economic and political reform in order to stabilize the country. For this purpose, we drafted a special government program, which we hope will soon obtain a vote of confidence in the parliament. This reform has three main aspects: the liberalization of prices, privatization in villages and in the towns, and the liberalization of the economic relations between enterprises and the state. These three objectives will become possible with the necessary aid from Italy and other countries. In this context, I therefore think that the aid given today by the Italian Government, besides overcoming the food crisis in our country, also supports the start of this reform.

[Question] There is a view in the West that considers this Albanian exodus as a form of pressure on Italy to help Albania. What is your opinion of this view?

[De Michelis] There are people in Italy who think this, but this is not the view of the Italian Government. We would rather say that this is objectively the case. We must realize that pressures on people to flee as refugees will increase if the economic and social situation deteriorates. This must persuade us that the Albanians should be helped at home in order to avoid exoduses of this kind.

[Question] Will political asylum be granted to military personnel, whom the Italian Government is separating from other refugees?

[De Michelis] I am unable to answer this question because I do not know the specific situation. We will enforce our country's laws. This relates to individual persons, and not all the refugees. The forced repatriation of Albanians must not lead to punitive measures against them, which we do not want. The Italian Government does not ask for anyone's punishment. We are sorry that we cannot respond to all the Albanians' demands. Our efforts for cooperation with the Albanian Government are of a positive, not a negative nature.

[Kapllani] [as published, no other reference to Foreign Minister Kapllani's presence] I wish to add that there is no political reason for Albanian citizens to seek asylum in other countries.

[Question] Prec Zogaj, the Albanian minister of culture and sports, has said that the Albanian Government has started investigations to prosecute not only illegal border crossings but the sequestration of ships, etc. Is this true?

[Bufi] The Albanian refugees were repatriated under the law. The whole world has such laws. No ships were sequestrated, because the ships belonged to the state. The organs of justice will conduct the necessary investigations to identify failures, in order to ensure that such exoduses are not repeated. No doubt, we will identify

those responsible. Each case must be viewed in the light of the law. For instance, the cases of refugee soldiers and serving officers depend on the law. A lawyer would put this better. I guarantee that the laws will be enforced with all their inherent humanism. We do not want to punish people, because this would not solve the problem. It is not legal for the prime minister to interfere in the work of other organs.

[Question] How does the Italian Government view the Albanian problem in the Balkans, as a single whole or divided into Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece?

[De Michelis] This would require another news conference. We consider this question on a Balkan plane as a single but very complex problem. We think we will confront this complexity through dialogue and talks. We are working in this direction. I would like to mention that in the last month I have met my colleague Kapllani twice, once in Ancona, where we signed the agreement to cooperate on the Adriatic Initiative of Italy, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece. This is a small-scale agreement that of course does not solve the problem of Kosovo, the problem of Albanian refugees in Italy, the tension on the southern border with Greece, or the problems between Greece and Macedonia. It is a small sign from which cooperation may start. I then met Mr. Kapllani at the Hexagonal meeting in Dubrovnik. This was a very difficult meeting because it was held in Yugoslavia. There, we tried to identify possible joint solutions. It is difficult to say what will happen. Italy, which is in a favorable position in this matter, must make maximum efforts to solve these problems of defending human rights, protecting national minorities, democratic freedoms, and opportunities for economic development.

[Question] Did Serbia encourage the exodus, supporting conservative forces in Albania who wish to preserve the "Berlin Wall" between Kosovo and Albania?

[De Michelis] I have no basic evidence to judge these problems. It is up to the Albanian Government to investigate and find the reasons for the exodus. Most of the Albanian refugees in Italy have stated that they left in search of a better economic life in Italy.

[Bufi] I wish to add that the exodus was for economic reasons, but it is possible that it was exploited by anti-Albanian forces.

[Question] Will the earlier refugees who have still not found work be sent back to Albania?

[De Michelis] We will enforce the Martelli law in these cases, and will do so in the most humane way. It is a very difficult situation. Some accuse the Italian Government of not being strict enough, and thus contributing to a repetition of the exodus last week. During the two exoduses, not including the most recent one, we accepted about 30,000 Albanian refugees in Italy. We have pursued a very generous policy. Our generosity must not be interpreted as any inability on Italy's part to enforce the law, because this would encourage other violations of the law.

[Question] Will the exoduses lead to visa restrictions for Albanian visitors to Italy?

[De Michelis] I would not like these events to lead to difficulties in granting visas or to any obstruction to people's travel. We must encourage travel, as we do with Poland, the CSFR etc., with whom we do not have entry and exit visas. However, it is clear that this can only be achieved in a normal situation. This must be realized in Albania. If an "invasion" results, we will enforce the law more strictly. This would have an influence on human contacts, and would mean the imposition of visa barriers.

## Deputy Foreign Minister on Refugees, Aid

*AU2608114991 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Aug 91 p 3*

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka by Peter Pragal in Tirana; date not given: "We Knew the West Only From Italian Television"]

[Text] [Pragal] While the international community has been following events in the USSR the situation in Yugoslavia has dramatically deteriorated. The agreed cease-fire has been broken again and again. Is it still possible to prevent a civil war?

[Bocka] We want the Yugoslav population to solve its problems peacefully and democratically. As a neighbor we have raised our voice because Yugoslavia has an Albanian population of more than three million who are terrorized and suppressed the by Serbian Government.

[Pragal] Does Albania support the Croats in the conflict between Zagreb and Belgrade?

[Bocka] We take the same position on this issue as all other democratic countries in Europe. We do not pursue a course of our own in this connection.

[Pragal] Would you advocate unification with the Albanians in Kosovo?

[Bocka] We are first and foremost interested in an autonomous republic of Kosovo within the framework of a Yugoslav confederation. Although Albanians account for 90 percent of the population in Kosovo, they are denied the right to self-determination. Instead they have to endure persecution, arrest, and maltreatment. Such things are an anachronism in the Europe of today.

[Pragal] What is the situation like at the Albanian-Yugoslav border?

[Bocka] We have observed with mounting concern a concentration of Yugoslav troops and arms in the region. Besides, there are signs that units that were withdrawn

from Slovenia are now being stationed near the Albanian border. Moreover, paramilitary units and reservists have also become active and are carrying out night-time exercises during which they surround entire villages.

[Pragal] Albania has meanwhile also alerted its Army.

[Bocka] That is true. We are forced to keep our Army on the alert.

[Pragal] As far as discipline is concerned things are not at their best in the Albanian Army. There have been reports of deserting soldiers. What is going to happen with those soldiers who defected to Italy but were subsequently sent back?

[Bocka] The government tried once more to be conciliatory. Yet it is very difficult to integrate these soldiers. Our government has just adopted various resolutions intended to increase discipline among our Armed Forces. National defense must be conceived as a national task that must not become the subject for an argument between rivaling political parties.

[Pragal] Why are thousands of Albanians running away and trying to find jobs abroad?

[Bocka] They are mainly driven by curiosity. After more than 40 years of isolation everybody is anxious to travel abroad, find a job and buy something that is not available at home. The lack of jobs and the lack of a professional future, particularly for young people, have even increased this urge. For many years our people knew the Western world only from Italian television, which can be received in Albania. There everything looks very nice and tempting.

[Pragal] Still, that is not the whole truth.

[Bocka] True, but the people are not aware of that.

[Pragal] The EC countries have agreed that the best thing for Albania is to promote foreign investment and encourage the people to stay there. How much help have you been promised?

[Bocka] Unfortunately, so far there has not been much concrete aid, although we are running out of time. Our democracy is fragile and needs aid quickly. Of course we are also in need of humanitarian aid. Still, it would be even better to provide specific economic support, for example through investing here and creating jobs.

[Pragal] What do you expect from Germany?

[Bocka] Germany has the best specialists. They have experience with the transformation of a centrally planned economy into a market economy. We would like to benefit from the experience of the new laender.

[Pragal] Trade with the former GDR was considerable. In the middle of last year, these ties were almost entirely severed. How did you cope with this?

[Bocka] It has indeed been a great problem for us. Neither our trade experts nor our politicians anticipated that the GDR would disappear from the map. Developments in East Germany were so dramatic that nobody was interested any longer in Albanian tomatoes, wine, or brandy. There are also problems regarding the supply of spare parts, for example for the trucks from the IFA [Industrial Association for the Construction of Vehicles] plant. Now we must look ourselves where we can get these from.

[Pragal] Albania has enormous problems as far as the supply of food is concerned. Some people have even mentioned the danger of a famine. Are you continuing to export agricultural products under these circumstances?

[Bocka] No, we have almost completely stopped these exports.

[Pragal] Is Albania facing financial bankruptcy?

[Bocka] The situation is complicated. It is true that our foreign currency reserves are almost exhausted. We register every single coin that comes in.

## Kosovo Activist Murat Bejta Imprisoned

*AU2708084891 Pristina FJALA in Albanian No. 31 Aug 91 p 6*

[K.A. report: "Professor Dr. Murat Bejta Imprisoned"]

[Text] The home of the distinguished activist Professor Murat Bejta, well known for his work in settling blood feuds in Kosovo and also a member of the Presidium of the Movement for Albanian National Unity and of the Kosovo Association of Independent University Teachers, was subjected to a barbaric raid by many Serbian policemen, well armed as usual, between the early hours of this morning and 1330 [date not given].

More than ten policemen arrived in three cars, accompanied by two young Albanian civilians, whom they had seized on the street to act as witnesses. It must be emphasized that after the raid the two boys returned to Murat's home with their parents in order to apologize and also went to the editorial office of BUJKU to make a statement, because they are not collaborators with the Serbian occupier but were grabbed on the street and taken to Murat's home as witnesses. The police kept them locked in a room of the house during the entire operation, together with Murat's son.

During the raid, the police searched every nook of the house for secret weapons, but found nothing because, as Murat's son Alajdin stated, no weapons existed. Not finding weapons, they furiously ransacked the entire house, leaving terrible confusion behind them. After the search, the police took Professor Dr. Murat Bejta with them, and latest reports say he has not been released. Eye-witnesses who saw the police leaving the house also say that they took various bags with them, presumably filled with books.

The Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms strongly protests the raid on this house and Murat Bejta's arrest, and demands his immediate release from prison.

### Supreme Court's Koci on Rehabilitation of Pacrami

*AU2508175091 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 24 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—The plenum of the Supreme Court of the Republic of Albania convened on August 23 before noon. It examined the protest of the chairman of this court Kleanthi Koci, for defence of legislation, annulment of the Decision No. 2 dated March 31 1977 of this court regarding the trial of Fadil Pacrami and Dashnor Mamaqi, reversing the case and granting them their innocence.

Both the report and the contributions by the members of the Supreme Court stressed that Fadil Pacrami and Dashnor Mamaqi have not committed penal acts which they are accused of, tried and penally punished. The decision of the Supreme Court was not based on law and facts, they say, the organs of justice were rather politicized and put in the first account the interests of the Party of Labour. This influenced in the case, going beyond the limits of respective provisions.

The Supreme Court of the Republic of Albania unanimously voted against the decision which condemned Fadil Pacrami and Dashnor Mamaqi (posthumously), reversing of the case and declaring their innocence.

In his address, the chairman of Supreme Court, Kleanthi Koci said that by annulling this groundless and illegal decision we show we are resolute to take a right way and we unreservedly back up the democratic process going on in our country. He laid the stress on the determination of the legal organs to take decisions based on justice against those who, violating the laws have prevented or are preventing the democratic processes, whoever they are, murderers, stealers, abusers, vagabonds or bllok members [former residents of the leadership's compound]. He underlined the need of the support from the masses and facts accumulated from those who know the matters.

Passing this decision, he continued, we repudiate the legal support for the speech of Enver Hoxha "Let Us Promote the Struggle Against Alien Manifestations and Liberal Stands Towards Them," held in the 4th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] in June 1973. It is the duty of historians of literature and arts to describe this speech and the decisions of this plenum as one of the darkest stains in the annals of European obscurantism. But, I think, the chairman of Supreme Court said, that through our concrete acts, we apologise for the struggle made from the legal tribunes against the writers and artists who started the first efforts for the liberalisation of our literature, art and culture. Leafing through this investigation file which reflects the dark work of 21 months in the cell, we throw light on facts about the persecution of our great writer Ismail Kadare, of other writers and artists and false testimony against political figures, Kleanthi Koci said in conclusion.

### Delays in Land Distribution Cause Rural Violence

*AU2308161391 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Aug 91 p 2*

[Selim Hoxha article: "What Else Are We Waiting For?"]

[Text] If a few days ago it was the central authorities who delayed, the State Land Distribution Commission and the Agriculture Ministry, these delays have now "descended" to the grass roots, where it is indeed difficult to uproot certain old-fashioned and obsolete practices observable among some employees of all political persuasions. The consequences are strongly felt in the districts and the villages. Aware of this concern, the government recently carried out a special study on accelerating and improving work to enforce the Land Law. The Agriculture Ministry, whose staff have almost all gone to the districts as experts, also did this. Fifteen decrees and other instructions have been issued to the executive committees of the district people's councils, apart from the law that was published.

The law has been promulgated and these decrees and instructions have been issued; however, it seems as if instructions for delay and hesitancy have been instructed alongside them. Pluralist executive committees have still not been formed in many villages. It is a regrettable fact that the political parties merely seek their own gain from the countryside's worries. However, this is not true everywhere. Permet, Elbasan, Pogradec, Vlore, and Gramsh have completed forming pluralist executive committees for land distribution in villages, or have nearly done so. The deadline was 7 August. However, some districts such as Berat, Puke, Diber, Kolonje, Korce, etc. are seriously behind. In Kavaje, the district commission has still not been formed, while in Tropoje it has not yet been approved. The peasants are waiting.... What, indeed, are they waiting for? For the bureaucrats to wake up? What a sound sleep they have fallen into; there is no rousing them! A Tropoje television correspondent reported a painful and tragic incident. Three people were killed and one person was seriously wounded over the distribution of common cooperative property. Meanwhile, the old problem of reverting to the former boundaries is returning, and someone is encouraging it. People have been killed in Tropoje and Lezhe. There is anarchy and insecurity in many villages, and people are out to seize as much as they can for themselves, and as soon as they can. What can the peasants do when the law is not enforced, when decisions are implemented only after delays, when party leaders issue statements, and some members of the government only make promises. This is what lies ahead for us: murders over land, murders in attempts to flee across the sea....

We can wait no longer. As we have emphasized before, delays in enforcing this law and its associated decrees have led and will lead to other social conflicts, sometimes of a very bitter kind. The executive organs, the political parties, and those who sow such conflicts are responsible for this. One consequence of these delays in the enforcement of the law was the foul crime that took place two days ago in the village of Shenkoll in Lezhe District. According to preliminary investigations and still inconclusive data, it was the question of land boundaries that led to the murder of a young man of 25. It was a shocking incident, although the police intervened very quickly to prevent other murders. Yet blood, young blood was shed. Nothing can be worse. Let us stop such people! The fast and fair enforcement of the law, in coordination with all the authorities and political parties, is necessary in order to prevent all conflicts, however small.

These circumstances mean that the members of the Socialist Party must be active, supporting the commissions' distribution of the land, according to the law. Let them be the first to realize that everything that has to be done must be done at once, and work to persuade peasants, in cooperation with other political forces. The countryside needs calm and work.

### Government Recognizes Baltic Independence

*AU2608151891 Sofia BTA in English 1512 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Bulgaria recognized the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia according to a Council of Ministers' decision adopted today.

### Popov on Decision

*AU2608183091 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—At its meeting today the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria decided to recognize the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov told a news conference. Consultations with the Baltic republics' ministries of foreign affairs will start on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

Asked about the Bulgarian Government's stand on other constituent republics of the USSR which have also declared their independence, as well as on Yugoslavia, the prime minister answered that the independence is recognized only when this is requested. He pointed out that the Ukraine and Belorussia have also declared their independence but they have not approached Bulgaria with a request to recognize it. As for Yugoslavia, Bulgaria is firmly committed to non-intervention in its internal affairs, which does not mean that it stays indifferent to what is happening there.

### Explanations of Contacts With Soviet Envoy Reviewed

*AU2708073491 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—"I do not know whether Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov visited the Soviet Embassy," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said in a statement aired by the national television this evening.

At a press conference today Soviet Ambassador Viktor Sharapov said that Mr. Tomov visited the embassy on August 21. The visit was intended to explain the motives for the delay of the scheduled visit of a Bulgarian economic delegation to Moscow. According the preliminary agreement, the delegation ought to be led by Mr. Tomov.

In a television statement on August 23 Mr. Tomov (who is a member of the BSP) [Bulgarian Socialist Party] spoke of his contacts with representatives of the Soviet Embassy but never mentioned he had visited the embassy. "You should ask Prime Minister Popov if the embassy exerted any pressure on the Bulgarian Government," said Mr Tomov in that statement. He also said that Mr Popov had two meetings with Ambassador Sharapov but was not certain about it.

This evening the prime minister pointed out that he was not visited by the Soviet Ambassador on August 19-22.

### Popov Explains Contacts

*AU2608183691 Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov had talked with representatives of the Soviet Embassy August 16, 20 and 21 but he is certain that they were just normal contacts. Today he told the press that if other members of the Cabinet have also had talks with Ambassador Sharapov or with other Soviet diplomats the days after the coup in Moscow, "they should be named."

On August 20 Prime Minister Popov was visited by Minister Plenipotentiary Kareyev who anxiously told him about "the change in Moscow." The same evening the government issued an official declaration expressing deep concern about the state of emergency and the removal of Gorbachev. On August 21 Ambassador Sharapov told Mr. Popov on the phone that he had been ordered by Prime Minister Pavlov to inform the Bulgarian Government that the visit of a Bulgarian economic delegation to Moscow which had been scheduled for August 22-23 can be held. Mr. Popov told Mr. Sharapov that the Bulgarian delegation would not be sent to Moscow, as the rule there was not constitutional. The same day Mr. Popov ordered Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov to contact the Soviet Embassy and tell them that no delegation would be leaving for Moscow. In the government Mr. Tomov is in charge of the economic cooperation with the USSR.

Today Prime Minister Popov held a press conference in connection with the BTA's report from last Thursday and other features in the press, according to which not all members of the government were informed about those contacts with Soviet diplomats. The ministers were not informed about the conversation with Mr. Kareyev on August 19 because it had just been an ordinary conversation and information was still short. Mr. Popov said that beside stating the Bulgarian Government's principled position, he has not had any other talks.

When asked by the TASS correspondent whether he had felt any kind of personal pressure for the possible acknowledgement of the coup-makers in his talks with Kareyev and Sharapov, Mr. Popov stated explicitly that there had been no such pressure.

"But such a pressure might have been exerted on someone else," he said and added: "I cannot trace out who is coming in and who is going out of the Council of Ministers."

### Soviet Envoy on Contacts

*AU2708073191 Sofia BTA in English 2009 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—The Soviet Embassy has neither received orders directly from the Committee for

the State of Emergency, nor has insisted that Bulgaria acknowledge that committee, Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Viktor Sharapov said at a special press conference today. He rejected the information which appeared in the Bulgarian press about "behind-the-scenes contacts" with representatives of the Bulgarian Government during the coup.

There were such reports in the Bulgarian press these days and Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev said that in the days of the coup the Soviet ambassador here became more active and had more meetings than in the last two months altogether.

Mr. Sharapov said he met with President Zhelyu Zhelev on August 19 to deliver the official message of the Committee for the State of Emergency. Representatives of the major political forces, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], were also informed about the message, said Mr. Sharapov.

Today's "24 CHASA" writes that in the days of the coup the Soviet ambassador spent quite a time with leaders of the BSP.

Mr. Vladimir Filipov, foreign political adviser with the SDS, told a BTA reporter on the phone that an official representative of the Soviet Embassy here visited SDS only on August 21 and the news of the failure of the coup came during the talks.

According to Mr. Sharapov, on August 19 the embassy received a telephone call from Moscow and it was demanded to specify the list of the Bulgarian economic delegation which was scheduled to visit Moscow on August 22. The embassy delivered that information to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and to Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov in his capacity of chairman for Bulgaria of the bilateral commission for economic cooperation.

Mr. Sharapov said that his only visit to the Council of Ministers was on August 22 when he delivered a message to Prime Minister Dimitur Popov under the instructions of President Gorbachev.

Answering a qy?he S???et ambassador said that the embassy still disposes of a "limited quantity" of the so-called telephone pentacles which provide contact with Bulgarian state institutions. "We use them because it is almost impossible to communicate through the other telephones," said Mr. Sharapov. According to a well-informed source from the embassies in Sofia, the Soviet Embassy is the only one which disposes of such opportunities for communication with the competent state institutions.

### Demos Denounces Moscow Coup, Supports Democracy

*AU2608154591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Aug 91 p 2*

[Text] We believe that Bulgaria's public and democratic forces, despite their party differences, are prepared to defend the constitutional order and institutions, parliamentary democracy, and the freedom of personality, a declaration by the Movement for Democratic Socialism (Demos) reads.

The attempt to overthrow Gorbachev is described as an anticonstitutional act and coup led by conservatives and neo- Stalinists and conducted primarily by the security forces and the Army. The events in the USSR show that neobolshevism and neo-Stalinism could emerge both from the left and right, and the escalation of the events to a confrontation could have tragic consequences, the document reads.

Demos also rejects the wait-and-see position in determining the attitude toward the events.

### Israel's Shamir Arrives on Three-Day Visit

*AU2708095791 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Telephone dispatch from reporter Galina Khristova at Sofia Airport—live]

[Text] A short while ago the aircraft carrying Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir landed at Sofia Airport. The prime minister is accompanied by his wife Shulamit and a group of advisers.

The eminent Israeli visitors were welcomed by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and his wife Mariya Popova. After the appropriate military honors had been paid and the national anthems had been played, the official motorcade set off for the Boyana Residence.

This is the first visit by an Israeli prime minister to Bulgaria, but it should be regarded as a normal continuation of the intensive bilateral contacts following the restoration of diplomatic relations between Bulgaria and Israel in May 1990.

It is expected that at the end of the visit, on Friday morning, 30 August, Mr. Dimitur Popov and Mr. Yitzhaq Shamir will sign an agreement on developing trading, economic, industrial, technological, research, and development cooperation.

This afternoon we will inform our listeners on the talks between Yitzhaq Shamir and Dimitur Popov.

### Shamir Interviewed Before Official Visit

*AU2608135991 Sofia BTA in English 1252 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Tel Aviv, August 26 (BTA exclusive by Maya Nyagolova)—Israeli Prime Minister Mr. Yitzhak Shamir gave an interview to the BTA on the eve of his official visit to Bulgaria. According to the schedule of the visit he is expected to arrive here tomorrow.

Question: How do you see the present development of Bulgaro- Israeli relations and what are your expectations of the forthcoming visit?

Answer: First of all I would like to say that I am greatly interested in the maintaining of close and friendly relations between Bulgaria and Israel. I would like to witness a very positive development of these relations. For many reasons. Firstly, according to me Bulgaria is an important country in Eastern Europe. Secondly I feel deep respect for the Bulgarian people. I believe in its abilities and merits and I hope that in the new conditions Bulgaria will mark—after a certain period of time—considerable progress.

Question: When speaking of the possible areas of cooperation between Bulgaria and Israel some of the observers of the two countries mention that Bulgaria may receive Israel's support at important international forums and in world organizations, including in the international financial institutions. What is your opinion of this assistance?

Answer: I think that intensive economic cooperation in many spheres should become one of the components of our bilateral relations. Naturally, if we can help Bulgaria promote her international financial contacts we will gladly do it. Our experts are maintaining contacts with the world business and financial circles. If necessary we will let Bulgaria use our channels. I firmly believe in economic interaction. The present development of the world economy has shown that the existence of closed national economies outside the framework of the ever more perfect system of international economic cooperation is impossible. We will be glad if we can impart such dimensions to the Bulgarian economy. Preparing for my visit to Bulgaria I met some leading representatives of our business circles. I asked them to express their views on the development of economic relations with your country. I can say that I will bring some ideas with me as well as experts who will help specify them.

Question: There is a traditional interest in Bulgaria in the development of the situation in the Middle East and on the possible ways for solving the problems in the region. Will you throw new light on the present stand of Israel on this issue during the talks with your Bulgarian hosts?

Answer: We will doubtlessly do so. We will acquaint the Bulgarian side with our views on the situation in the Middle East as well as with our evaluation of the prospects of the negotiations we have already started. Naturally we would like to learn more about the present political situation in the Balkans, as well as about the relations between the East European countries, their contacts with the United States and Western Europe. I am awaiting with interest the forthcoming talks with the Bulgarian prime minister and with other outstanding Bulgarian politicians.

Question: It is known that one of the reasons for the great interest shown by the Bulgarian public in Israel is the fact that in your country there is a considerable community of Jews born in Bulgaria. It was joined by more than a thousand new immigrants in the last few months. Would you comment on their place in the Israeli society?

Answer: We do not conceal the fact that the presence of a large group of our fellow countrymen born in Bulgaria is an important factor determining the interest in the development of Bulgaro- Israeli relations. The Jews who immigrated from Bulgaria number about 50,000. They enjoy an excellent reputation and maybe their good name has contributed to Bulgaria's good reputation in Israel. Naturally this is not the only reason. We are indebted to Bulgaria for two historical circumstances which are well preserved in the memory of our nation. First the unique efforts of a great part of the Bulgarian people to save the Jewish community in Bulgaria from the Nazi genocide in the dark times of the Second World War. We will never forget this. Second, after the foundation of the Israeli state in 1948 the Bulgarian Government, and more specifically the leader of the then Bulgarian Government, decided to let all Bulgarian Jews who wished to emigrate to Israel do so. This was an unusual stand in comparison with the other communist countries of that time. This was the decision of Georgi Dimitrov, we will remember that the presence of a 50,000 strong community of Bulgarian Jews in Israel is the result of this decision of the Bulgarian Government.

Question: Today there is much talk in Bulgaria about the international image of this country. How do you view it?

Answer: After all I said you may conclude about my opinion of Bulgaria. Bulgaria is a country which Israel feels close. We would like to see it prosper, economically, politically and culturally.

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, can these words be regarded as a message to the Bulgarian people?

Answer: Yes.

### Prime Minister Popov Receives PASOK Delegation

*AU2608142691 Sofia BTA in English 1348 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—The prime minister, Mr. Dimitur Popov today received a delegation of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), led by Mr. Apostolos Tsokhatzopoulos, chief secretary of PASOK's Executive Bureau.

The sides considered a wide range of questions concerning regional and European problems, and a proximity of views was ascertained on many of them.

### Popov Denies Possession of Podkrepa Informer List

*AU2708080491 Sofia BTA in English 2014 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—"Some ministers have heard that I have received some sort of a list of former

State Security employees in the leadership of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the problem was discussed in the government. This is a rumour. There are all sorts of rumours around the country these days, even in the Council of Ministers," Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said today, answering a question which was posed by the BTA on August 22: "Does Prime Minister Dimitur Popov dispose of a list of agents in Podkrepa?"

Mr. Popov said he has never been given any list by the minister of the interior. "I do not want to have such a list, I would not take it," he added.

"How can you imagine two men of law with many years of practice like Minister Danov and myself to give each other such lists?" he asked the journalists at the special press conference.

The prime minister reminded that Minister of the Interior Mr. Danov had refused to present a list of the informers to the Grand National Assembly, describing this information as state secret.

### Popov Reveals Reply to Letter From Yilmaz

*AU2708073791 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 26 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov hopes to find out how the letter of Turkey's Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz, which was addressed to him, fell into other hands. At a press conference today he said he received the letter on August 16 in the afternoon and told the press about its contents in general.

Certain political circles made much noise about the letter and called its assessments improper, while it reviews the development of bilateral relations and praises them, said the prime minister. The letter points out that Turkey respects Bulgaria's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and expresses hope the bilateral relations will keep developing in the same spirit. At the same time, said the prime minister, the letter expresses concern about the attempts to destroy the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and deprive it of the opportunity to take part in the elections. Any violation of the rights of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria would be unfavourable for the future relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. In conclusion, Turkey's prime minister invited his Bulgarian counterpart to meet in a suitable place and time.

The prime minister's response (it was explained that it was a draft response which is to be approved by the government) thanks for the appraisal of bilateral relations and assures that the participation of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria in all spheres of life is part of the general democratic process in Bulgaria. Their rights, including those related to the elections, are not being called in question by the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria. Mr. Popov assures his Turkish counterpart that the DPS is not threatened by destruction. The question of its registration as a party is to be solved by court. Any fears that this issue might obstruct the bilateral relations is groundless. At the same time the prime minister points out that being a representative of the executive power, he cannot interfere in the work of the court.

### Papers on Coup, Soviet Envoy, Baltic States

*AU2708102691 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 27 (BTA)—Today's newspapers front page reports on the acknowledgement of the independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. "Is it Slovenia's and Croatia's turn now?" asks a headline in "TRUD." The reports emphasize the statement of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov that a state may only be acknowledged at its own demand.

All newspapers cover yesterday's press conferences of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov and Soviet Ambassador to Bulgaria Viktor Sharapov. The headlines quote Mr. Sharapov's statement that he has exerted no pressure on Bulgaria's authorities. In a commentary in "DEMOKRATSIYA" headlined "Goodbye to Sharapov?" Mr. Tsonyu Kornazhev writes that "Soviet Ambassador Sharapov is one of those who confirmed their conservative positions in the days of the coup." He believes that Moscow should appoint a new ambassador to Bulgaria, a true democrat, ideologically not affiliated to the CPSU.

In the reports on yesterday's press conference of Mr. Sharapov "DUMA" and "24 CHASA" point out that the message of the Committee for the State of Emergency was also delivered to the major political forces, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. "DUMA" writes that representatives of the Soviet Embassy visited the leaders of both the BSP and the SDS on August 19-21 to inform them about the new situation in the USSR.

"DUMA" and "24 CHASA" carry a denial of Mr. Aleksandur Lilov to a feature in "24 CHASA" which claimed that he had had talks with Yanayev in the days of the coup. Mr. Lilov advises "24 CHASA" to take its time over the prognoses that the BSP will split. According to Mr. Lilov, "the BSP will proceed with more confidence and courage on the way of its renovation." He says that the declaration of the Supreme Council of the BSP was worked out in a democratic way, through an active discussion. On its last page, however, "DUMA" carries a letter which claims quite the contrary.

The open letter to "DUMA" is signed by Mr. Georgi Bliznashki, leader of the BSP's section in Sofia, by the editor-in-chief of "DUMA," Mr. Stefan Prodev, by Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov (member of the BSP), by Deputy Chairman of the BSP Dimitur Yonchev, by Members of the BSP supreme leadership Filip Bokov and Chavdar Kyuranov, etc. The letter says that on August 19 one of the proposals in the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the BSP was to define the coup flatly as unconstitutional and anti-democratic. This proposal, however,

was not accepted by the majority. The letter's authors believe that if at the end of last week the public had been acquainted with the facts and attitudes in the BSP's leadership, it would have received a truer idea of the BSP and its leadership. They also believe that the moral damage inflicted on the party may be reduced by an acknowledgement of its mistake and an explicit denouncement of the coup. At its meeting yesterday the Presidium rejected the position of the letter's authors.

Under the heading "We're Here Again" Mr. Stefan Prodev, editor- in-chief of "DUMA," writes that until yesterday the opposition Union of Democratic Forces used to pour forth fire and brimstone against Gorbachev and is now pouring flattering words about him. This is just a primitive fish-hook, he writes.

On its second page, under the headline "Unsuccessful Coup in Moscow May Turn Into Plot Against BSP," the Socialists' daily carries features about the intentions of the SDS to inquire into the possible relations between the BSP and the coup-makers, the demand of the City Council of Sofia that the BSP return the possessions it still holds to the state and the demand of SDS-Varna that the BSP be outlawed. The editor's commentary says that an unfair campaign is being organized against the Socialist Party by the SDS and other opposition forces. "The BSP is not the same as the CPSU, it is a parliamentary party," says the note. It points out that the attacks against the BSP may turn into attacks against democracy and social peace.

"DUMA" also carries the BSP's election platform.

The "168 CHASA" weekly has conducted a telephone poll and the results show that Bulgarians firmly approve of the stands of President Zhelyu Zhelev and the SDS who immediately denounced the coup in Moscow. Their attitude is approved respectively by 67 and 63 per cent of the respondents. The wait-and-see attitude of the BSP is disapproved of by 63 per cent of the respondents.

Ms. Diana Damyanova, one of the leaders of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, says there is a battle in the BSP aimed at isolating other-thinkers from the leadership: "What if they say the truth that the BSP (BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party] is guilty and must take its responsibility?" According to Ms. Damyanova, the loud-mouthed in the SDS are allowed to consolidate the "left" with their claims to outlaw the BSP.

The events in the USSR are still in the highlights of the press. Mr. Damyan Obreshkov writes in "TRUD" that after the coup the perestroyka has overcome the inhibitions and rushes ahead.

The first issue of the "PODKREPA" daily carries a feature saying that Saturday in the BSP's Election Club ex-prime minister Lukanov accused the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms of playing a common political game. Mr. Lukanov described the visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs Viktor Vulkov to Turkey as a blunder.

According to "DUMA," the Movement for Rights and Freedoms hopes to be registered as a party today. Today is the last day of the seven-day term and the court should decide whether this party conforms with the constitutional requirements.

The press emphasizes yesterday's statement of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov that he does not dispose of any list of former state security agents in the Podkrepa Labour Confederation. In "OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK" journalist Zornitsa Veselinova writes that on August 21 the head of the government's Press Centre, Mr. Yasen Indzhev, told her and other journalists from the radio and the television that the Council of Ministers disposes of information that six of Podkrepa's leaders used to be agents of the secret services.

The press also reports that Israel's Prime Minister Shamir is arriving on a visit here today.

## Ministers, MP's Get Guards for Homes

*AU2408204791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Aug 91 p 2*

[Text] While the government was holding its meeting on Sunday [18 August], the villa belonging to Minister Pushkarov in the Boyana District was broken into and damaged. The perpetrator, Krasimir A., attempted to beat up the minister's wife in the presence of her daughter. Neighbors summoned the police who, after mounting a search, caught the culprit. He proved to be a resident of the house next door to Pushkarov's villa, a man with a criminal record and a history of mental disturbance, who is now working as a gravedigger in one of Sofia's cemeteries.

Krasimir A. also resisted arrest and broke windows in the Sixth District Police Station. An investigation is under way. The miscreant attributed the attack to the 1,200 grams of alcohol that he had consumed, as well as to the fact that he had been waiting for many years to get a telephone for his villa, whereas Pushkarov had one installed immediately.

This incident, as well as the risk of actions by extremist forces, prompted the government to adopt a special decision at its session held on 19 August. The government instructed the minister of internal affairs to provide protection of the residences of ministers and National Assembly deputies. It is also intended to raise the level of protection of important state and public facilities, such as the radio and television buildings, the BTA offices, ministries, and government departments.

### Government Decision on Election Proceedings

*AU2608194491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] The government has adopted a decision on implementing organizational-technical preparations for the upcoming elections for people's representatives, municipal council members, and mayors. The Election Law points out that the Council of Ministers and the provisional municipal leaderships must undertake such preparations.

The deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, the minister of justice, the minister of internal affairs, the minister of defense, and the chairmen of the provisional executive municipal committees were instructed to ensure conditions for conducting the election campaign in a legal manner. This includes the election day and the period until the final announcement of the election results.

The expenditures will be covered by the state budget. According to a preliminary estimates they will amount to 63 million leva. This includes the means for subsidizing the election campaign of the political parties and independent candidates.

According to the same decision of the Council of Ministers the election lists must be completed by 13 September.

### Rival Green Party Conferences Held; New Leaders Elected

*AU2408201291 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 91*

[Text] On 24 August the national conference of the Green Party National Council and representatives of the party's municipal branches ended.

The Control Committee presented the results of its review of the demands to convene an extraordinary national conference. Only four of the 18 protocols submitted to the Green Party Secretariat are regular.

The National Council adopted a position on the illegitimacy of the extraordinary conference, which took place today in Plovdiv, and decided to convene the Third National Conference in the second half of November.

The participants in the Green Party National Conference discussed the manner in which the candidate list of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Liberals will be formed. The SDS-Liberals election platform will be reviewed at the 7 September meeting of the Green Party National Council.

The Green Party National Conference adopted a declaration which reads:

The events in the USSR during the week showed that a wait-and-see position toward the development of the democratic processes is a losing position. The support for the coup, albeit hesitant, demonstrated by the parliamentary majority in our country, impairs the normalization of Bulgarian-Soviet and especially Bulgarian- Russian relations. Citing this recent history lesson, the Green Party appeals to the National Assembly, the government, and the president of the Republic to adopt energetic measures aimed at normalizing relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet republics. It is specifically recommended to quickly establish diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and recognize their independence, the Green Party declaration says.

On 24 August in Plovdiv an extraordinary national conference of the Green Party took place. The political report read by Iliyan Obretenov and statements from the floor dealt with the state and tasks of the party and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in the election campaign. The willingness to avoid a split in the party and strengthen the party's municipal branches was pointed out.

The 125 delegates from 53 municipalities voted nonconfidence in the party's national leadership and its chairman, Aleksandur Karakachanov. A new leadership of the Green Party was elected. Khristov Bichev from Khaskovo was elected chairman. Petur Avramov from Sofia and Rusin Cherbezov from Plovdiv were elected deputy chairmen.

A new National Council was elected and a political declaration was adopted. It confirms the Green Party's belonging to the SDS. Support was expressed for the SDS National Coordinating Council and its chairman, Filip Dimitrov.

The Green Party Extraordinary National Conference appeals to all party members to join the election campaign and vote with the uniform blue SDS ballot.

The declaration denounces the actions of the former leaders and National Assembly members, who neglected the green idea on which the party was based and the cause of the SDS and its voters.

The Green Party opposes the legitimacy of the Bulgarian Socialist/Communist Party and its participation in political life, prior to that party assuming responsibility, including legal responsibility, for the third national catastrophe and the plundered national wealth.

### Calfa Discusses Baltics Recognition, Soviet Aid

*LD2608185591 Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Prague Aug 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa today confirmed that a proposal for the establishment of diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia will be discussed by the federal cabinet Thursday and then submitted to the Federal Assembly (parliament) for approval.

Calfa told CTK that in view of the fact that parliament has urged the government to establish ties with the Baltic republics, he does not doubt the proposal will be approved and relations established as quickly as possible.

He said he does not think the new attitude of Western countries towards the republics which declared independence from Moscow will result in a reduction of Western aid to Czechoslovakia. However, he said, the danger is that the agreements signed between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union might become a "redundant instrument" now.

Czechoslovakia granted the Soviet Union a 2,000 million dollar credit which has to be repaid, and there is a trade balance surplus this year of another 2,000 million dollars, Calfa said. The planned Union treaty was supposed to decide on the division of such debts between the center and the Soviet republics, he said, but he voiced serious concern as regards their repayment in the wake of recent events.

Calfa praised the foresight of his cabinet, whose members have been conferring since September 1990 not only with Moscow but with the republic governments as well. Czechoslovakia concluded trade and economic agreements with the Baltic republics, the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia, and is prepared for talks with these partners, he said.

On the subject of the Baltic republics' independence, Calfa said he does not think the republics should secede on the basis of an agreement as they were annexed to the Soviet Union by force. "It would be historically justified if they withdraw by an unilateral act", he insisted.

He acknowledged that international recognition of the republics' independence might influence relations within the Czechoslovak Federation, but stressed that the Soviet nations were linked on a completely different basis than the nations of Czechoslovakia.

### Defense Minister: Soviet Troops Still a Threat

*LD2608204191 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1930 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Speaking at a session of the members of the defense and security committees of the Federal Assembly, Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky stressed that, while Soviet troops are on the territory of Germany, they will continue to represent a possible threat to us. He pointed out that, if there is a possible military threat to our Republic, it comes from two sides: from the east and northwest.

Lubos Dobrovsky mentioned a military doctrine that calls for the defense of our Republic on its territory by our own forces. In his view, however, this does not exclude a coordination of military activities, above all with neighboring states.

### Dubcek Criticized for Attitude Toward Soviet Coup

*LD2608170191 Prague CTK in English 1524 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Bratislava Aug 26 (CTK)—Milan Sutovec, deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly (parliament) and member of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, today told a VPN briefing that parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek was sharply criticised at a parliamentary presidium session last Thursday for his "wait-and-see attitude" to the Soviet coup d'etat on Monday, August 19.

Sutovec, who is also chairman of the House of Nations (one of the two parliamentary chambers), said that only on Wednesday did Dubcek send several letters to the Soviet Union, one of them addressed to "the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Comrade Anatoliy Lukyanov". (Lukyanov is alleged to have masterminded the coup). Sutovec also criticised Dubcek for not convening the parliament presidium earlier.

Sutovec said he has information that during the coup "members of a certain political party, as well as former agents of the dissolved secret police (SST), swarmed in front of and behind the gate of the Soviet Embassy in Prague." Many members of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) visited the embassy during the coup, Sutovec said, but he refused to give any more details.

He said evidence exists that "during a visit to the Soviet Union a former Slovak politician twice met with KGB (soviet secret police) generals". Asked whether he meant former Slovak premier Vladimir Meciar and whether he was a KGB agent, Sutovec stressed that he was not saying that the person who met KGB agents in Kiev was a KGB agent himself. He refused any further comments.

Parliamentary circles consider Sutovec a possible successor to Dubcek.

### Deputy on Power of State Security, Army Leaders

*AU2708085591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Aug 91 p 2*

[Interview with Jiri Pospisil, member of the legislative commission investigating the 17 November Events, by a "(pat)"-signed reporter: "Is the State Security Powerless?"]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] The Federal Assembly committee investigating the 17 November 1989 events is informed, to a certain degree, about the former State Security network of agents. In connection with the Moscow coup, yesterday we asked a member of the commission, Jiri Pospisil [Civic Democratic Party], whether former State Security agents could pose a threat to the developments in the CSFR in case there is a serious shake-up.

[Pospisil] Former agents still hold important positions, and they can influence developments; yet they cannot reverse them. The commission is of the opinion that the names of all the agents should be made public and, once they are, we will get rid of this problem once for all. I do not believe that someone would prosecute these people. We would like to make them and their actions known—so that we may know what to expect.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What positions do these former agents hold?

[Pospisil] They hold positions in communications media and important positions in economic management. They are there because these people—under guidance or not—very quickly took over the highest positions, since they lack moral inhibitions. If someone took the work of an agent, he had to be flexible.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Do they pose any serious threat now?

[Pospisil] The Moscow putsch was staged by the Army, the Interior Ministry headed by the KGB, and the party nomenklatura. In our country, the party nomenklatura has been removed from the highest positions. The State Security, too, has been deprived of official influence—they cannot flash a State Security identification card, and they do not have the Interior Ministry's repressive units at their disposal.... However, I believe that the reconstruction of the Army has failed. In responsible positions, there are still generals who owe their rank and privileges to communists and who studied in the USSR. They have no reason to be loyal to this regime. I do not think this poses a danger, but I feel that there is a task that remains unfulfilled, that this is something we have failed to do.

## ODA Calls for New Assembly Screening Law

*AU2608160491 Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK) - The chairman of the right-wing Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA) today told a press conference it is essential that the Federal Assembly (parliament) pass a "vetting and anti-nomenklatura" law to prevent the occurrence in Czechoslovakia of a coup similar to the one that happened in the Soviet Union this week.

This law would provide for the screening of public officials for past collaboration with the StB secret police but, unlike the revelation of names in parliament by a special commission this spring, would allow individuals the opportunity to defend themselves, Pavel Bratinka said.

Asked whether ODA agrees with the call by the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) for all names to be made public, Bratinka said such an approach would probably not be effective as it would result in never-ending legal disputes.

Also speaking at the press conference was federal economics minister and ODA member Vladimir Dlouhy, who said Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland have the right to put much greater pressure on the EC and other European institutions to expand activities in their countries.

## Prime Ministers on Republic, Referendum Issues

*AU2308183291 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Aug 91 p 3*

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart and Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Jan Repka; in the High Tatra Mountains on 17 August: "What the Prime Ministers Think"]

[Excerpt] The weekend meeting between the republican prime ministers in the High Tatra Mountains should have been a restful one. Political issues were not supposed to be dealt with. Perhaps this would have been the case without the omnipresent—and always bothersome—journalists. We selected four of the many questions concerning Jan Carnogursky and Petr Pithart's policy and points of view toward the burning issues of the day. Compare the rare concurrence of views. We should inform you that we recorded their answers at different times.

[Repka] What is your view of the creation of a grand coalition in the Slovak Government?

[Pithart] I think this is an audacious and venturesome scheme. I am not sure whether those to whom it is offered would accept it. Every government facing such a difficult period as the current one would hardly be willing to rely on such uncertain support in its legislative body. In this sense, the proposed scheme does not seem too attractive to me.

[Carnogursky] We have already said that the creation of a grand coalition is unacceptable to us. The proposal is certainly founded on a specific political aim. That is, to get into the government—which Movement for a Democratic Slovakia supporters left relatively recently—through the back door.

[Repka] The Czech side's attitude toward Slovakia is slowly changing. Despite this, there is still tension in mutual relations. What is the main reason for this?

[Pithart] One of the reasons for the Czech Republic's ignorance about Slovakia is, among other things, the fact

that Slovakia is perceived as a whole and not as if it were composed of distinctly different regions. I am convinced that political points of view are also different in the various regions. This is simply a Czech view from a distance. When one becomes acquainted with the situation a little, one finds that this is not the case.

[Carnogursky] A natural tendency of passions is that they flare up and then quiet down into reality. If Slovakia and the Czech Lands give serious consideration to their geopolitical position, their interests, their ties, and their opportunities to assert themselves, they will find themselves on a completely rational level where they can rationally define their interests and their mutual relations.

[Repka] What do you think about the proposal to hold a referendum?

[Pithart] I am skeptical about the issue of a referendum. I am a lawyer, and every lawyer knows that the most complicated issues on which most things depend are difficult to put with a clear conscience to people in a referendum. In fact, you can only ask those questions that people can answer, and these are not the questions we have been seeking an answer to for more than a year and a half. Despite this, I am not opposed to a referendum being held, because this would calm down the atmosphere in both republics. However, we can only ask questions that people can answer in accordance with their own reasoning and their own experience. For example, if I were to put the federation issue to my colleagues—to people rather high up in political life—and if I were to test them on their mutual differences, not everyone would receive top marks. It would not be democratic to put the same question to millions of people. The range of questions would have to be narrowed down, and this would not be fair.

[Carnogursky] I agree with Mr. Pithart's recent statement that it is impossible at the moment to formulate a question in such a way that it could be answered "yes" or "no." For this reason, a referendum is not viable at the moment. However, if someone managed to push through the proposal to hold a referendum, it would in fact be a false dilemma for Slovakia. If a federation unsuitable to Slovakia were placed on one side and a divided federation placed on the other, then the Christian Democratic Movement would recommend its supporters to choose the divided federation. Accepting a federation whose internal jurisdiction breakdown—or, as the case may be, other parameters—is unsuitable to us, would mean making any kind of constitutional and legal development in Slovakia impossible for many years. I say this because there are simply certain moments in a nation state's history when it is necessary to adopt a clear point of view. [passage omitted]

## Bank Chairman Views Economic, Financial Issues

*AU2708070591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Aug 91 p 3*

[Interview with Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky by Vladimir Matejovsky; place and date not given: "What Comes After Curbing Inflation"]

[Excerpts] The Czechoslovak State Bank, SBCS, is colloquially referred to as the central bank. The post of chairman of such a bank is regarded very highly in the West because people know that he has the power to significantly intervene in a state's economic development via interest rates or the amount of money in the bank. In our country, many citizens are still in the dark about what the central bank is. Perhaps the following interview with SBCS Chairman Josef Tosovsky will contribute toward clarifying its significance: [passage omitted]

[Matejovsky] According to the latest figures on the rise in inflation, it seems you have won the battle!?

[Tosovsky] The July figures indicate that prices have been completely stabilized. That is, we have fulfilled to the last iota what we said at the beginning we would fulfill. The question is, what next? The expenditure aspect of the state budget has been revised. At the end of May, the surpluses amounted to more than 21 billion korunas, but now they are already considerably lower. I do not know what future development will bring, but—in any event—this means that the state budget has given a spur to a different policy and is creating more demand in the economy. Wage development is another unknown factor. There are certain target increases based on prices development in the last quarter. During this quarter, a certain target wage increase will be put into operation, although inflation and price increases are in fact almost negligible. That is, wages will increase faster than prices and will thus increase demand. It is clear that domestic aggregate demand will increase, but the question is whether the economy will absorb this demand by raising its output or whether demand will overflow into higher prices. I do not know what will happen. This is because sums a little larger than normal are involved. However, there was a huge slump in the economy, so there should be potential there for absorption.

The import factor operates against this. Despite a large decline in domestic demand, domestic supply is unsatisfactory. The balance of the trade deficit suggests that something is being produced, but demand is for something else. This would indicate that goods are being produced for inventories. Stockpiles worth more than 100 million korunas are a sign of this. Although the results of our foreign relations are considerable—incomparably better than we expected—it is unclear how increased demand will manifest itself. We are now at a loss about what to do; we will give careful consideration to what further steps will be taken in monetary policy so that we avoid the mistakes made by Poland last year. During the first half of 1990, Poland registered very good

results from a monetary point of view; then a phase of satisfaction and relaxation set in and everything went off the rails again during the second half of the year. I would not like this to happen to us.

[Matejovsky] You have not spoken about the influence of increasing rents....

[Tosovsky] The date of the increase has been placed in doubt several times. It seems to me that political aspects will prevail over economic ones.

[Matejovsky] Try to estimate future inflationary development.

[Tosovsky] There are very many influences. I cannot estimate how increased demand will manifest itself. We are not in a standard situation where we could weigh the economy on medical scales. In the short term, I would say that we will maintain our stability, but, in the longer term, I would say that inflation will not lie dormant. However, we are resolved not to abandon our current anti-inflationary policy. Studies by the Forecasting Institute exhort us to relax our monetary policy and to pursue a contrary course of action. Studies by the Economic Institute tell us: Be very circumspect.

[Matejovsky] I assume you are also preparing certain studies seeking the most suitable future course of action.

[Tosovsky] I should mention the basic ideas behind the strategy we are now preparing. In each of the reformed economies—I particularly mean Poland and Yugoslavia—they began with almost identical measures as we did and, after a certain period, they had to devalue their currencies and problems developed with devaluation and inflation. We instituted a significant devaluation in January and, thanks to this, there is no pressure on our currency. I am able to tell you that our balance of payments current account was in the black during the second quarter of the year. We had planned for an annual deficit of $2.5 billion, then we revised the estimate to less than $2 billion, and the preliminary result for the first six months of the year is a deficit of only $340 million. If the situation after the first quarter was a deficit of more than $400 million, during the second quarter we were in the black. However, I must point out that the balance of payments current account is a broader concept than the foreign trade balance. For instance, the foreign trade balance does not include capital transfers such as the first payment from Volkswagen for its share in Skoda. So, if the gentlemen from the Forecasting Institute are accusing us of getting the state into debt, this in fact is not the case. [passage omitted]

[Matejovsky] Try to explain to the ordinary citizen how it is possible that, despite 50 percent inflation in our country, the koruna's exchange rate was stable by March.

[Tosovsky] We devalued more because we expected a leap in inflation and pressure on the balance of payments. There was a leap in inflation, but we got it under control and a restrictive policy—whether a budgetary or wage policy—reduced the pressure on our foreign currency. We announced this scenario in advance. Those who, after 1 January, flocked to purchase foreign currency are the losers I would say. We maintained the exchange rate, and interest rates in our country are considerably higher than they are abroad, so these people made a mistake... or they did not trust us.

[Matejovsky] There are certain fears that, on account of the excessive influx of capital from abroad, we will lose our political sovereignty.

[Tosovsky] I refuse to consider whether 25 percent of foreign capital in the economy is a lot or a little. We require enough capital for the economy to be able to absorb it and so that we are better off. This is the main criterion. The economy is understandably linked with politics. However, it is possible to combine capital interests—even by design— and thus preserve our independence.

[Matejovsky] In conclusion, I have to ask you the obligatory question: When do you expect a turnaround?

[Tosovsky] The end of the economic slump is still not in sight. In my opinion, the output slump in certain branches will continue, but—as a counterbalance to this—output in other branches will see an improvement. I do not know when this will show up in the macroeconomic figures. The course of reform in the former GDR gives us some idea. Some experts there expect an improvement this fall, while others expect it next spring. At the same time, think of the massive financial support they are receiving from the central budget. The process of transforming the economy is considerably more advanced there. We are using different, less drastic methods, so a comparison is misleading. However, it gives us some idea.

## Antall Speaks to Assembly on Baltics, SFRY

*LD2608203791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1321 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to a session of the National Assembly in Budapest—from a live relay]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed House: I apologize that despite the advance announcement [that Antall was to speak earlier], I was unable to get here. President Bush and Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney just telephoned me, and for this reason I was unable to get here.

I asked for an opportunity to speak before the agenda because the events of the past days, which indeed shook the world, demanded firm, rapid, and also circumspect actions by the Government. The Esteemed House has information in connection with this from the daily press, on the basis of discussions between the parties.

Today, the world felt relief, but in the critical hours of the coup attempt in the Soviet Union, we had to face unpredictable threats. The totalitarianism that hopefully has lived its last hours in the Soviet Union threatened with special danger all the countries that were close to it territorially, with special regard to the Baltic states.

The democratic Hungarian Government, to date, together with the National Assembly, has followed with sympathy the independence endeavors of these states, on the principled basis that everyone must respect the peoples' right to self-determination. We did this all the more because our country had, in the past months, regained its sovereignty.

It was logical that during a telephone conversation with U.S. President George Bush, which began at midnight on 20 August, I already spoke emphatically about the extent to which the Baltic states were threatened. I stated that it had become timely to consider the recognition, by all of us, of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. On 23 August, when I met the ambassadors of the European communities, and other countries—the United States, the Soviet Union, Austria—I again stated our country's position.

On this same day, at the instruction of the foreign minister, and on the basis of Government's authorization, we immediately instructed Istvan Varga, our chief consul in Leningrad or Petrograd to visit the three Baltic republics, and, at the highest government level, to express the Hungarian position.

On 24 August, on the basis of authorization from the Government of the Republic of Hungary, the Foreign Ministry released a statement that emphasized that the Hungarian Government regarded the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact as null and void and illegal, that it considered lawful and supported the endeavors of the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian peoples aimed to restore state sovereignty. [applause]

On 24 August, competent officials of the Foreign Ministry outlined the Hungarian position to the representative of the Soviet Union's embassy in Budapest. We emphasized that the statement reflected our country's consistent policy. According to our interpretation, it was in full accord with the endeavors of the democratic forces in the Soviet Union.

I can inform the esteemed house that on 24 August our consul general outlined the stance of our government in Tallinn, and following this, in Riga, a stance that was received with great pleasure in both capitals.

In these hours, while I am talking to you, the same document will be handed over in Vilnius. The government authorized the foreign minister to strengthen Hungarian representation in the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian republics, and prepare the possibility for these republics to be suitably represented in Hungary.

Hungarian diplomacy is urging the fullest possible integration of the three independent Baltic republics in the European cooperation process.

I ask the esteemed house to take note of my statement. At the same time I am informing the esteemed National Assembly about the further steps to be taken by the Government.

At its next session, the Government will consider a proposal put forward by the foreign minister to be presented to the Assembly, in which the government will ask the Assembly to declare its position in connection with the strengthening of our political links with the Baltics, since contacts are being established by new international legal entities.

The Government will present the proposal as a matter of urgency to the speaker of the Assembly this week, so that the relevant legislative committees can consider it next week and so the Assembly can declare its stance about this at the earliest possible time.

Simultaneously the Government is asking the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to draw up the conditions for establishing separate independent diplomatic relations, and to make recommendations, just as before, to the president of the Republic for establishing diplomatic relations.

Finally, I would like to announce that, on 2 or 3 September, the foreign ministers of the three Baltic countries, at their own request, wish to make a joint visit to Budapest, as we had already suggested earlier. This is what I wished to disclose. We will hand over the details this week to the speaker of the National Assembly.

Concerning this, our present decision, I have just indicated our ideas to President Bush over the telephone, because the United States has a continuous interest in this, just as other countries do.

I should, at the same time, like to signal that I must prompt all of us to extreme circumspection, extreme

attentiveness regarding the crisis in Yugoslavia, especially with respect to the situation that has developed in eastern Croatia, Slavonia. The number of refugees—those who are registered and who are not registered—is above 10,000. Many people came over from one of the regions, then go back to the western side of Croatia to their homes. At the same time, in the coming period, the fighting and combat along the line of the Danube will continue, which also affects shipping on the Danube.

According to most recent information, more than one locality, including Magyar localities, Magyar-nationality localities, are surrounded. The military attaches in Budapest and certain diplomats are today visiting the border region, and they are visiting the refugee camps we have established.

I can also say that I underwent unsettling experiences yesterday, and we have taken all necessary measures in the interest of the country's security. There is emphatically a wish for us to have a good relationship with Yugoslavia, but the country's territory and its air space constitute a part of our sovereignty.

Thank you for listening to me. [applause]

### Foreign Minister Supports Baltic Independence

*LD2608202991 Budapest MTI in English 1934 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—Hungary has consistently supported the efforts of the Baltic republics to win independence. We are extremely satisfied neither side of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which unlawfully stripped these countries of their independence, considers the pact as valid any more, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said.

The fact Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, a determining element in the rapid changes taking place in the internal system of the Soviet Union, has recognized the right of the Baltic states to independence is exceptional. This declaration has reconfirmed Hungary's recognition of the states' independence and signaled Hungary to establish normal inter-state relations as with those of other sovereign independent subjects of international law with them, Jeszenszky said.

The foreign minister added that establishing diplomatic relations with the Baltic republics should rank foremost among the tasks facing the country.

### Defense Committee Discusses Border Violations

*LD2608214891 Budapest MTI in English 2049 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—The number of reconnaissance and observation points along the Yugoslav border have been stepped up by military authorities at a special session of the Hungarian National Defence Committee Monday evening.

Flight commander of the Hungarian Army, Brig. Gen. Janos Urban reported that Hungarian air space was repeatedly violated last Friday. Aircraft of the Yugoslav Federal Air Force remained in Hungarian air space for between 1.5 to 30 seconds on three occasions within three hours. Urban said it can be assumed that the aircraft were flying against Yugoslav targets, but 'went astray' over Hungarian air space. However, no official reply has so far been received to the official Hungarian protest. It is alarming the aircraft violating Hungarian air space were flying extremely low, moreover, that the threat of Hungarian air space being violated has still not been eliminated.

The committee also unanimously approved a report by Brig. Gen. Bela Balogh, head of the Air Defence and Air Division of the Hungarian Army, on the 'open skies' agreement concluded last May between the Hungarian and Romanian Governments. The agreement can now be submitted to the plenary session of parliament.

### Gyula Horn Comments on Soviet Coup Attempt

*AU2608175791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Aug 91 pp 1, 5*

["V.P.-Z.I"-signed interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party and of the Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee; place and date not given: "Yeltsin Will Have the Greater Power"]

[Text] Gyula Horn analyzed the reasons for the Moscow coup's defeat and the lessons for Hungary:

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Chairman, how would you qualify the events in the Soviet Union?

[Horn] It was an abortive and desperate coup attempt that was organized and executed in a — fortunately—amateurish way, although there are many unknown factors. The timing was not accidental because it occurred when Gorbachev gave up his former tactics and took a stand in favor of a confederation. Most of the republics will sign the agreement that provides real independence for them. This is especially important in the economic sphere, but I can add that, within a short time, they will establish their own armed forces, public security forces, and independent international relations.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What will happen to the nuclear strike force then? Will there be several nuclear powers in place of one?

[Horn] This is a huge question. In my view, this force will remain within the authority of the Union. To return to the timing though, I will also mention that the CPSU will cease to be all powerful, and Gorbachev's foreign policy will be confirmed. Among other things, the putschists attempted to counteract these developments.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Why do you think they failed?

[Horn] They were unable to say anything substantial or promise anything tangible to the people. At the same

time, they could not, dared not, or did not want to take tough measures. The greatly divided nature of the power structure, including the armed forces, also played a part. The fact that a strong personality like Boris Yeltsin confronted them, a person who could mobilize the masses and international support, obviously also played a large part. Leading personalities have always played an important role in the Soviet Union.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What do you expect to happen in Moscow after the "60 hours"?

[Horn] Radical reforms will accelerate because Gorbachev and Yeltsin have practically been given a free hand. The tension though, for which there are objective reasons, will not decrease, because there will not be more bread. The coup's defeat provides an opportunity to remove the conservative forces from various leading positions, and there will not be a force that can prevent the republics from becoming truly independent. I am convinced that the Soviet Union will not disappear, but it will be transformed. The importance of the republics, mainly of Russia and, consequently, Yeltsin's political influence will increase considerably.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does this mean that Yeltsin will have more power than Gorbachev?

[Horn] Yes. Russia's president will have more power than the Union's president. Undoubtedly, though, certain important spheres of authority will remain on the Union's level, because the maintenance of the Soviet Union as a superpower will also be the in interest of the member states of the confederation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The social tensions used by the putschists continue to exist....

[Horn] Yes, the plot was connected to a series of social tensions, more precisely, the putschists made use of these, too. This is why it is vitally important to make sure that a process of persecutions and expulsions does not begin in the Soviet Union, and that the renewal takes place in an orderly manner, without creating new conflicts.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What did you think of the Hungarian reaction to the events?

[Horn] As for the official Hungarian reaction, in my view, it was correct because it was principled, it proved to be balanced, and it took the country's situation into consideration. Namely, it took into consideration the fact that, whatever happens, we have to live and exist next to the Soviet Union, and we have to recognize that our economy is still very much dependent on the Soviet Union. I think that those people who reproach the government for making any kind of contact with putschists are wrong. Yanayev's message was accepted from Soviet diplomats in every country. Together with the other legislative parties, the Hungarian Socialist Party supported the government's attitude on this basis. The only dissenting voice came from [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Chairman] Gyula Thurmer. It justly aroused indignation because a decent person cannot welcome such a coup, such an anti-democratic step. If the coup had succeeded, dictatorship would have prevailed—perhaps, only temporarily—and it would have brought immeasurable suffering to the peoples of the Soviet Union. They would have removed the reform communists first, but the putschists' rule would have plunged the environment and the whole world into danger, because, as is well known, the Soviet Union continues to be a nuclear power. I hope that everything Gyula Thurmer said was his personal and not his party's opinion.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your view on the opinion of some people who say that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party outlawed itself with this statement?

[Horn] I cannot accept that. I emphasize again that it would not be wise to identify Gyula Thurmer with his party and to respond with administrative measures.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What are the lessons for Hungary in your opinion?

[Horn] The main guarantee is showing an example, converting to a market economy, social sensitivity, orderly relations between the government, the employees, and the employers, restoration of public security, and national reconciliation. In my understanding, Pope John Paul II's message also called for national reconciliation! We have to progress in this direction, otherwise dissatisfaction and nostalgic feelings for the past will increase. Under these circumstances, people should not be threatened and excluded; instead, we should strive for national understanding. We must not return to the times when we saw enemies in the opposition and we drew an enemy image. Therefore, our Assembly and government have an enormous responsibility, because they are acting in an insecure international environment that makes us vulnerable.

Therefore, it is inevitably important for the six legislative parties to hold regular consultations on our relations with our neighbors. At the same time—and this is very important—we have to speed up our involvement in the political, economic, and security processes of European integration, because that has important consequences in our domestic policy. Once we start, we have to continue to the end. Joining the mainstream of Western civilization is essential for our modernization and for strengthening our democracy, but it is incompatible with the arbitrary interpretation of the law and even with our anachronistic nostalgic feelings for the Horthy era.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Horn, do you feel that Hungarian democracy was threatened in the hours of the Soviet coup?

[Horn] I am convinced that our country's democratic order and its security have not been seriously threatened in the last few days, nor has there been any real danger of anyone trying to revive past alliances. Therefore, I would

warn everyone against applying "the strong hand" under the guise of strengthening the public order. Our country's tensions exist independent of the Soviet coup; our government, the Assembly, the parties, and the trade unions have to work together to solve these tensions. It is possible to solve these problems through a social-partner relationship and not through anti-democratic measures.

### Government Session Addresses Soviet Issues

*LD2408033791 Budapest MTI in English 0642 GMT 23 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 22 (MTI)—In its Thursday session, the Hungarian Government evaluated the recent political upheavals in the Soviet Union and surveyed Hungarian-Soviet relations, Government Spokesman Balazs Laszlo told MTI during the session's interval.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall gave briefs on the measures the government had taken in connection with the Soviet situation. Antall said he had received a message from Mikhail Gorbachev. In the message handed over to him by Ambassador Ivan Aboimov on Thursday morning, Gorbachev assured the prime minister that constitutional order would soon be restored in the Soviet Union Antall indicated that he would a send an answer to Gorbachev and consider the proposals included in the Soviet president's message in the course of cooperation with the central government and the particular republics, strengthening the existing ties with the leaders of the republics. The prime minister commissioned Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, to elaborate proposals for the development of Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation, which is today rapidly declining.

The prime minister received Yeltsin's letter, informing him on the latest events in the Soviet Union, during the session.

Lieutenant General Antal Annus, state secretary of defense, reported on the protocol he had signed with Admiral Grishin early in the afternoon. The document states that the Hungarian-Soviet expert talks suspended on July 25 had been resumed and finished. According to the protocol, there is still a wide gap between the two sides' positions on economic issues, financial accounting, and other questions. The protocol is limited to a list of facilities handed over by the Soviet side and the financial claims raised by the two sides. So far the two expert teams have failed to elaborate a draft inter-governmental agreement. The government took note of the report.

### Minister Views Economic Ties With USSR

*LD2608211891 Budapest MTI in English 1306 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government set up an expert committee at the end of last week to develop Hungarian-Soviet economic relations, which recently hit rock bottom.

As its first task, the committee, headed by Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, is drawing up a list of industrial goods and farm produce which Hungarian companies have free capacity to manufacture and transport.

Top of the list are likely to be pharmaceutical products, since the Soviet Union has placed orders with Hungary for 400 million U.S. dollars' worth of these this year, but has so far obtained only 6 million U.S. dollars' worth because it has been unable to produce payment guarantees for the remaining amount.

As Bela Kadar said in reply to an MTI query, the crux of the matter is whether the Soviet Union can manage to improve its liquidity, because without this, there is likely to be no substantial increase in bilateral trade, despite efforts on both sides.

Given the internal problems the Soviet Union is currently experiencing, it is, for the time being, impossible to bank on any further l/cs [lines of credit] being opened, or on the improvement of the Soviet partners, payment positions.

Of all export and import deliveries, only 10 per cent of those concluded under bilateral interstate and intercompany agreements had been fulfilled by August, and the value of barter deals had not reached more than 50 million USD on either side.

The former Soviet Government promised on a number of occasions to make greater efforts to fulfil delivery obligations, but the promises have not resulted in a breakthrough so far.

How economic contacts can be placed on a new basis depends on how the Soviets will manage to remove the internal obstacles in the way of bilateral links, and what the new government, currently being formed, can do to tackle the problems.

The Hungarian side is also waiting for a list of products the Soviets are able to deliver, or for a statement about whether the individual republics are ready to fulfil deliveries laid down in earlier agreements Hungary concluded with the federal government.

Should the G24 grant the Soviet Union aid, this could also improve the country's regional trade with eastern-central Europe, Kadar said.

The minister had talks to the same effect here on Monday with the G24's ambassadors to Hungary, and proposed that the G24 support programme be worked out taking the interests of the whole central and eastern European region into consideration.

Kadar hinted that it would be good if Hungary joined in with deliveries under the programme: The country's trade with the Soviet Union could also see a boost in this way, he said.

### *East Europeans Offset Debts by Delivering Goods*

*AU2308192191 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Aug 91 p 9*

[MTI report: "The Debts of the Former Socialist Countries—They Will Pay With Goods by the End of 1991"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1991, it was decided in the agreements on the transition to U.S. dollar accounting with the former socialist countries that our partner countries could repay their ruble debts to Hungary by delivering goods during 1991. Gabor Gernyi, deputy department head at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, informed MTI about the situation of this so- called balancing of accounts.

The development of our bilateral trade with these countries differed from country to country and, in the same way, the balancing of accounts also differs. Hungary's demand from the CSFR was still R100 million at the beginning of 1991.

Through the Czechoslovakian deliveries that offset their ruble debts, the Hungarian trade balance surplus almost disappeared by mid-1991. Therefore, these kinds of authorized import deliveries are expected to be stopped from the CSFR.

The Hungarian-Polish trade situation is also encouraging. The [Polish] R38 million debt at the beginning of 1991 decreased to R28 million by mid-1991 and, hopefully, the whole amount will be offset during the rest of the year. Our trade accounted in U.S. dollars was also the most favorable with these two countries.

The value of Polish-Hungarian trade amounted to $220 million in the first six months of 1991, and our trade with the CSFR was around $200 million. These values are somewhat lower than last year's figures.

The situation is different in the case of Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania. Our turnover hardly reached $50 million with Romania, $10 million with Bulgaria, and our trade with Albania almost stopped. These values are only a fraction of 1990's figures. The $100 million Romanian debt was not reduced by goods' deliveries but by a successful banking operation. A Swiss bank syndicate purchased Romanian debts from Hungary to the tune of R80 million, with a ruble-U.S. dollar ratio of almost three to one.

According to Gabor Gernyi, similar treatment of Bulgaria's R75 million debt would be the most favorabie solution for Hungary because Hungarian firms are hardly able to import anything from Bulgaria. Although a number of other methods emerged during talks between representatives of the two countries in 1991—for example, using tourism or providing for the needs of the Hungarian Embassy and trade representation in Sofia for many years in advance—no actual agreement was reached.

An agreement was reached with Albania on converting their R3 million debt to U.S. dollars. However, Hungary has a very remote chance of receiving this amount in light of Albania's current economic situation. At the same time, according to Gabor Gernyi, Albania is a place with "unlimited possibilities," where great results could be achieved with quick and not too large investments. This fact could somehow be combined with the handling of their debt.

### Third Transport of Soviet Soldiers Withdraws

*LD2608224591 Warsaw PAP in English 1759 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—A third transport of Soviet soldiers left the northern Polish town of Bialogard on Monday.

The transport of 25 carriages carrying 300 soldiers and officers of the communications battalion left the town while other Soviet units still remained there.

The train with Soviet soldiers and equipment will cross the Polish border in Kuznica Bialostocka.

Meanwhile, a unit of northern group of the Soviet army has been withdrawn form Strzegom, south-west Poland. Four buildings left by the Soviets will be sold by tender, while barracks, garages and filling stations will be taken over by workers of the health service and education.

### Lithuania Congratulated on 'Road to Freedom'

*LD2608165491 Warsaw PAP in English 1527 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—President Lech Walesa spoke over the phone with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis on Monday.

Landsbergis thanked for Poland's declaration of its readiness to establish regular inter-state relations with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. He voiced hope that the declaration would create a new stage in mutual relations between the two nations.

Congratulating Lithuania on its road to freedom, Walesa pointed to difficulties and especially economic problems which may become a disruptive factor in the normalization of internal relations. He also raised the issue of Poles living in Lithuania and expressed hope that their aspirations would find a proper place in the new reality in Lithuania.

### Diplomatic Ties Discussed With Baltic Leaders

*LD2608230491 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—The Polish Government is ready to establish normal diplomatic relations with Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, the Government Press Office announced on Monday. The move comes after Latvia and Estonia decided last week to follow Lithuania in declaring full independence from the Soviet Union.

Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki told Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis over the telephone on Monday that Poland will send a technical mission to Vilnius later this week to pave the way for the establishment of full diplomatic relations.

The Polish Foreign Ministry today announced that similar missions are to be sent to Estonia and Latvia. In addition, Polish representatives will be sent to Moscow and Kiev for discussions with the authorities in the respective capitals.

Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told reporters on Monday that Poland had already signed declarations on relations with the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, and was ready to establish relations with any republics which declared their independence from the Soviet Union.

In a telephone conversation on Monday Lithuania's President Landsbergis thanked Polish President Lech Walesa for Poland's declaration of its readiness to recognise the three Baltic republics, and hoped that the declaration would mark a new stage in Polish-Lithuanian relations.

### Skubiszewski Views Ties

*LD2608130791 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Remarks by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at a news conference in Warsaw on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] At the moment, we are facing a declaration of independence by Latvia and Estonia. Lithuania already declared earlier, but presently it is emphasizing its independence, and this, of course, must affect our relations. The Polish Government has adopted the following position:

Considering Lithuania's, Latvia's, and Estonia's latest declarations regarding their independence, the Government of the Polish Republic expresses its readiness to establish normal interstate relations with these republics.

We have highly-developed relations with the Ukraine. There is an initialled treaty on economic cooperation. I should say that the fundamental changes taking place in the east are not catching us unawares because we have relations under way. We also already have consultations under way about establishing diplomatic relations that precede the present declaration of independence. As far as consular relations are concerned, that, as far as the Ukraine is concerned, is a foregone conclusion.

In the case of Belorussia, we have to complete talks, so far postponed or delayed by the Belorussian side—not by us—about a declaration on relations, and then there, too, will be a wide field for collaboration.

We have a declaration with Russia on mutual relations. It was signed on 16 October 1990. It gives us a wide field for collaboration, and in the immediate future, a representative of the Polish Government will travel to the Russian Federation to prepare talks on mutual relations in the present, new situation.

An envoy will also travel to Vilnius. We already have prepared talks in Vilnius for early September. And, of course, we are going to discuss, also with Latvia and

Estonia, ways of carrying out today's government decision on establishing normal interstate relations.

### Former President Hails Gorbachev's Comeback

*AU2608143691 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 23 Aug 91 p 1*

[Commentary 'for TRYBUNA' by former Polish president Wojciech Jaruzelski: "The Left Wing in Support of Perestroyka"]

[Text] I know, value, and respect the great Russian nation very much. The problems of the other nations of this great country are not alien to me. I have supported perestroyka and the new thinking with all my heart. I know the significance these processes have had for the world, Europe, and Poland. I have a very personal relationship with Gorbachev and have said so on more than one occasion.

Therefore, it is with a feeling of greet relief that I heard that the situation had been brought under control, that no mass bloodshed had occurred, that Gorbachev had returned, that the democratic reforms may be continued.

What is new in the emergent situation? Most of all, the very clear manifestation of democratic determination and of the will of most of Soviet society, especially that of the inhabitants of the capital and the largest cities. Also new are the clear, solidifying divisions within the Army and other bodies of authority, for the benefit of the reforms. New and exceedingly valuable is the rapprochement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

All this creates better conditions for a consistent strengthening of democracy and an increase in the economy's efficiency. However, this will not be easy. Although the direct threat has been removed, the problems remain. The biggest one is the constantly deteriorating economic situation and attendant living conditions, especially in the face of the coming winter. Hotbeds of nationalist tension and conflict remain, and there are phenomena indicating an increase in crime and a collapse of civic and workers discipline.

I expect that these very problems will be solved more effectively than up to now.

Polish society has been monitoring the latest events with great attention and concern. I am convinced the Polish left wing has warmly welcomed the favorable outcome of these dramatic events, and that it renders its full support to the creators and continuers of perestroyka.

### Party Representatives Assess Soviet Developments

*AU2608144391 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 August 91 pp 1, 2*

['E.K.'-attributed roundup of statements by Polish politicians: "Events in the USSR: Polish Assessments"]

[Text] Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Sejm marshal: "The tension has subsided and the situation in the Soviet Union seems to have defused. My first feeling is one of great relief at the fact that public protest action succeeded in halting the dangerous course of events in that country. However, at the moment we have too little information for formulating a fuller opinion. We must carefully follow other developments."

Wojciech Jaruzelski: "What happened in the USSR shows that the democratic process enjoys such far-reaching public approval that it is impossible to reverse or check those processes. I think that the new situation that has arisen, including the fact that Gorbachev and Yeltsin have moved closer together, will give a strong impetus to social consolidation and to overcoming the obstacles that exist. One can expect the West to expand cooperation with the Soviet Union, especially in the economic sphere.

"Poland, being the country in which reforms are the most advanced, has a special opportunity to develop equal and friendly relations with our great neighbor."

Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Democratic Union: "I am convinced that most observers breathed a sigh of relief. It is also paradoxical that this will strengthen democratic opportunities not only in the USSR, but also in other countries that are striving to attain democracy. Finally, it is also a warning for all those who believe that that the course of history can be reversed."

Pawel Piskorski, Liberal-Democratic Congress: "We are very pleased at the restoration of the constitutional order in the Soviet Union. We hope that this will make it possible to resolve the problems that exist in that country and that, at the same time, the danger of an external threat to Poland will recede."

Andrzej Urbanski, Center Accord: "The development of the situation in the Soviet Union indicates that the process of change in Poland and eastern Europe continues to depend on events taking place in our great eastern neighbor. Poland's raison d'etat calls for security guarantees and talks with common European defense structures, as well as the rapid withdrawal of Soviet forces from the territory of our country.

"The recent events in the USSR show that the boundary of a stable Europe lies on the Bug."

Marian Krzaklewski, "Solidarity": "The unsuccessful attempt to take power in the Soviet Union was a turning-point in two enormously important processes—the process of democratization in Eastern Europe, that fortunately was not halted, as well as in the manner and formula according to which democracy is defended from forces that are a threat to it. It is a signal indicating that democratic and economic reforms in Poland have to be advanced as quickly as possible to a stage in which our democracy would no longer have to fear a similar threat."

Waldemar Pawlak, Polish Peasant Party: "The basic conclusion that can be drawn from the recent events is that the future can only be built in a democratic system that is based on the will of society, and political programs must satisfy social needs and not only theoretical ideologies."

Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Union for Real Politics: "Next time, please do not wake me until a coup d'etat is being staged by Colonel Alksnis."

Aleksander Kwasniewski, Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland: "The recent events signify a radical acceleration of changes that will lead that country to democracy, a modern state, and an effective economy.

"Just as Joanna Szczepkowksa once said that communism ended in Poland on 4 June, one can say that communism ended in the Soviet Union on 21 August."

Stanislaw Tyminski, Party "X": "I am full of admiration for Russian theater. Besides, I always thought that theater in that country was of a high standard. I am not thinking of operettas, but of political theater, which makes for excellent television. I admire the marvelous directing, the first rate military scenes, and the impressive effects.

"GAZETA WYBORCZA accuses me of supporting the coup d'etat, but the Soviet Union is a sovereign state that can allow itself to stage that kind of theater."

Zdislaw Najder, National Citizens Committee: "Various conspiracy hypotheses have appeared about how everything was planned so that it would fail. That is surely unnecessary. Quite simply, courageous politicians who were ready to risk their lives appeared in the Soviet Union. In addition, the feeling of independence is so strong in the republics that it attracted more loyalty than commands from the center.

"The failed coup will undoubtedly hasten the inevitable disintegration of present structures. Fortunately, Boris Yeltsin is the number one person at the moment, which tips the balance from the Kremlin to the Moscow "white house." In my opinion, a matter of fundamental importance for the future of the USSR is whether the Ukraine can be retained, and whether or not it will join the republics that want to sign a new union treaty."

Krzysztof Krol, Confederation for an Independent Poland: "Martial law in Poland was prepared and executed incomparably better; the difference is so great that one can even suspect that it was a great deception, or that Gorbachev deliberately provoked the hardliners into staging a rapid and ill-prepared coup.

### Government 'Welcomes' Georgian Independence

*AU2708092991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0820 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—The Government of Romania welcomes the declaration of the Parliament of the Republic of Georgia to restore its state independence on the basis of the 26 May 1918 Act of Independence.

The Government of Romania is ready to establish friendly and cooperative relations with the Republic of Georgia on the basis of the charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law.

### Iliescu Statement on Soviet Events, Republics

*AU2608181691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu in Bucharest on 26 August—recorded]

[Text] No doubt the international political life and the attention of the international public is dominated by the dynamic development of processes and events in the Soviet Union.

I would like to discuss two of the major events: first, President Gorbachev's resignation from the office of the CPSU secretary general. I believe that this is a natural conclusion that stems from the content of the democratization process, from the assertion of the characteristics of a state of law, and from the assertion of the multiparty system in the political arena of the Soviet Union. Thus, this decision marks a major political moment for the future evolution and for the consolidation of the democratization processes in the Soviet Union. We hope that—as President Gorbachev also noted—all these processes will have a natural and normal course, without leading to unbalance and outbreak of certain destabilizing processes and a witch hunt that could become a source for serious trouble, even the outbreak of a civil war in the Soviet Union, something that would have very serious consequences not only for the Soviet Union but also for European and international stability.

Likewise, I would like to stress the importance of the political acts, such as the proclamation of independence in certain republics: the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and the Ukraine; Moldova announced a mass rally and parliamentary session in Chisinau [Kishinev], where the republic's independence will be proclaimed.

It seems to me that this is a process with profound significance that marks some of the major components of the processes that are specific to the evolution of this multinational state.

We can say that we are a generation that has the opportunity to witness the dismantlement of the last multinational empire. It is commendable that among the first ones to hail and support these processes and the political decisions of the people in certain Russian republics were precisely the representatives of the Russian people, of the parliament of the Russian Federal Republic, and of its president, Yeltsin.

As far as Romania is concerned, the Romanian Government officially declared the recognition of the independence of the three Baltic republics, of Belorussia, and of the Ukraine.

In anticipation of tomorrow's event, President Snegur expressed his belief that tomorrow, together with the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Moldova, Romania will no doubt be the first country to support this decision.

I can only stress this hope expressed by President Snegur. Certainly, this is a major political moment in the life of our brothers on the other side of the Prut River. This decision of the Moldovans expresses a natural aspiration. This crowns an entire process that has taken place in the past two years, a process that started with the proclamation of the Romanian language as the official state language, the introduction of the Latin alphabet, the adoption of the new state flag and emblem, the change of the official name of the state to the Republic of Moldova, and last year the proclamation of the state sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova.

The proclamation of independence is no doubt a crucial moment for the future development of this sovereign republic.

### Iliescu Qualifies Statement on Ukraine, Belorussia

*AU2708104391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0814 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/8/1991—From President Ion Iliescu's televised statement in the evening of 26 August one might have been left with the impression that the Government of Romania had recognized the independence of Ukraine and Belorussia. The presidential press office sent "ROMPRES" a note making clear that the president actually wished to welcome the proclamations of independence enacted the day before by the law-making bodies of Belorussia and the Ukraine.

### Iliescu Assesses Failure of Communist Ideology

*AU2608193491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1715 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu to REUTER Bucharest correspondent Susana Dascalu; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I do not want to make predictions, and I do not believe that this is the major concern at the moment. There is a dismantlement of ideologies in the world and of any attempt and tendency to create models for marking out the history of civilization and for organizing the life of countries. What prevails today is a realistic approach and a realistic arrangement of political life and social relations,

starting from local historic realities in the political and economic life of each country at a given time.

As major elements that mark the end of this century, I certainly should mention the assertion of the democratic principle of structuring the political life of all countries. Certainly we are participants in this triumphant march of democracy toward establishing political relations in the world in general, and in various states in particular, which gives a so-called local color to the European plane.

As far as the economic situation is concerned, the entire world economy today is unique. What has happened in this century is the internationalization of economic relations. This unique world economy is a market economy, no matter that in a certain part of the world, in certain countries, this social and historic reality was ignored, and the fundamental principles of the market economy were also ignored. Beginning from a false ideological basis that did not take reality into consideration, the act of ignoring reality reversed the relations between political factors and economic factors. What we have witnessed for 70 years in some, and 50 years in others, European countries did not lead to the assertion of the principles of socialism, but to the establishment of a despotic state, of a totalitarian regime that had nothing in common with the original, initial principles of socialism in which the political factor became the dominating factor and in which the arbitrary prevailed along with the abusive intervention of the state and of the political factor in economic life. This was at variance even with the initial Marxist principles that proclaimed that the economic factor is the basis of life.

I believe that this historical, social, and political experiment failed precisely because it ignored certain objective laws of the society's development, at this end of century, has led to this major conclusion; namely, to the assertion of a realistic approach to the problem of establishing and developing social relations.

## FSN Leader Welcomes Moldovan Independence

*AU2608170791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1547 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/8/1991—Reminding that on Sunday, August 25, the president of the Republic of Moldova parliament announced that Moldova's declaration of independence would be submitted to the legislative forum, Ion Aurel Stoica, executive president of the National Salvation Front [FSN], showed that the FSN considers it as "a history-making event, a political deed of greatest important for all Romanians on both banks of the Prut."

The historic process of putting the Europe mutilated by fascist or communist dictatorships back to its normal pattern made a new step forward. The failure of the coup in Moscow did not prove only that the peoples' march to freedom and democracy can no longer be stopped but also speeded up the democratic revolution in former Soviet republics, he stated.

We do not doubt that the Republic of Moldova parliament will decide upon what Romanians everywhere have been waiting for half a century and we ask the government to recognize immediately the decisions to be adopted. We are waiting with hope and happiness the opportunity to congratulate our brothers in Moldova for their independence, for the first step made on the path of uniting all Romanians in a single state. History judgment cannot be unfair forever, Ion Aurel Stoica stated considering that "tomorrow is a historic day for the Romanian people."

Referring to the statement-appeal of the Civic Alliance and of the Civic Alliance Party of August 25, he reminded that the National Salvation Front had a meeting with the Civic Alliance Party, "when we had the conviction that many problems concerning the processes in our country and abroad are approached almost similarly, that there are common places and targets in which the political actions and efforts should be conjugated." But there is a great distance from this to the appreciation—made in the statement of the Civic Alliance Party—that economic, social and spiritual chaos is in Romania, that the power encourages populism and corruption, that it proves inconsistency in reform, that the "single party" outlook is maintained in the National Salvation Front, Mr. Stoica stated, asking himself "when did they tell the truth, when we met and discussed from party to party or when they made the assertions in the statement-appeal?"

Considering as "ununderstandable and dishonorable their contempt for Romania's Parliament accused of adopting antidemocratic laws, the executive president of the National Salvation Front said: The Civic Alliance makes use of the demagogic means of ignoring everything that has changed in Romania in the last twenty months, demagogy in the name of which it demands things having been already accomplished by the National Salvation Front in collaboration with the other parties represented in Parliament or being in a finalization stage.

Had the Civic Alliance paid attention to the Parliament's activity in the last year instead of organizing manifestations to demand its dissolution, it would have known that all the laws it considers as highly necessary are on the Parliament's agenda.

The last propagandistic gesture of the Civic Alliance is a proof of political demagogy, of completely undemocratic practice and of lack of sincerity which we believed had disappeared after the December 1989 revolution—and not after "the December 1989 events" as the statement-appeal of that party put it.

Together with the Romanian people the National Salvation Front knows that in December 1989 a revolution took place which changed Romania's fate to democracy

and market economy. But for the Civic Alliance December 1989 meant only "some events"..., Ion Aurel Stoica concludes.

### Communist Party Leader Discusses Reorganization

*AU2608200591 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 16 Aug 91 pp 1, 3*

[Interview with Virgiliu Zbaganu, president of the reorganization committee of the Romanian Communist Party, RCP, by Mircea Florin Sandru: place and date not given: "Craziness? Insolence? Conviction?—The RCP Is Returning"]

[Text] [Sandru] To begin with, a few biographical data—who are you, in fact, Mr. Zbaganu?

[Zbaganu] There is nothing spectacular in my biography. I am an engineer; I graduated from the Faculty of Automatics in 1979. I am 37 years old. Until 1986, I held the position of factory engineer in a computer enterprise, after which I changed jobs, but I will not say what it is because we should not mix professional and political activities. I can also claim some studies in physics, but they are not worth mentioning, because the Faculty of Physics—the way I attended it, namely in the evening—had too few links to physics. As you see, it is an absolutely straightforward biography.

[Sandru] What made you and the others in the committee reestablish or, so to say, reorganize the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]? Forgive me for my expression, but I think this is downright crazy.

[Zbaganu] As poets say, there is a tragic need for a communist party in Romania. Our political spectrum is completely out of balance. To exist, the left movement does not only have to incorporate a certain number of groups and tick off initials, but it has to have a certain significance among the ranks of the electorate. At this time, the leftist movement is only made up of the Socialist Party of Labor and a few other groups, I believe, of which no one has even heard— for instance, the Party of National Rebirth that holds that it is promoting a leftist, democratic policy.

[Sandru] As far as I know, the "remnants" of the Communist Party (renamed Socialist Party) have united with the Democratic Party of Labor, thus forming the PSM [Socialist Party of Labor]. How can you still talk about reorganizing the RCP?

[Zbaganu] The point is, who can speak in the name of the Communist Party? Who has authorized whom to carry out such a "unification"? Therefore, the affirmation that the Socialist Party of Labor has replaced the Communist Party is not true. I do not want to discuss the PSM because I do not want it to be taken as an attack by us against that political formation. I do not want to dwell on this because it is not our aim to attack a leftist party, but the rightist parties.

[Sandru] You are a young man. What made you link your name and youth to an ideology that went bankrupt at all levels?

[Zbaganu] I have been a Marxist for 20 years now. There is complete continuity between my attitude now and the attitude I have always had, namely a hostile attitude to Ceausescu's dictatorship. I am now among the ranks of the RCP because I have always been a communist. The other members of the reorganization committee have the same positions as myself. We have to examine what was wrong and what was positive in the past. We will do that. There is talk about a "trial of communism." We will achieve it, because we have to discard the filth, see what was clean and what was dirty. At this point, in an attempt to bathe the baby, it is thrown out together with the water.

[Sandru] It seems to me that you are quoting Ceausescu.

[Zbaganu] Certainly. Not all affirmations made by Ceausescu were wrong. As a matter of fact, it would be very difficult to find someone who all his life said only things that proved to be wrong.

[Sandru] What about the bankruptcy of communist ideology?

[Zbaganu] Unfortunately, this ideology followed a single model, the totalitarian one. Were we to search the sources of the totalitarian model in this ideology, we would be unable to find them. This totalitarian model stems from historic practice and not from historic "practices." I am talking about a single road, the Stalinist road. All of us know that the regimes in Eastern Europe came into being because of pressure by the Red Army. Similarly, we have the experience of Vietnam and China, which has to be explained the same way. There has been only one autonomous historic experience—the Cuban one.

[Sandru] Does your party's doctrine still include such concepts as "class struggle," "exploitation of man by man," "workers democracy" and so forth?

[Zbaganu] Very cautiously said, yes. Naturally, the affirmation that class struggle is behind any social phenomenon is far-fetched. Likewise, the affirmation that class struggle does not exist under any circumstances, because no social phenomenon is triggered by class struggle, is extremely risky. Just remember what the "hooligans" chanted in the University Square: Down with the nomenklatura! What was the nomenklatura? The dominating class of the previous regime. Therefore, I fear that the University Square has been an expression of class struggle, but, of course, with a very unclear ideology.

[Sandru] Were you the ruling party, what would you do at this time? Would you nationalize the recently established trade companies based on private capital? Would you invalidate the Land Law? Would you dissolve the Parliament and declare the political parties as illegal?

[Zbaganu] God forbid! We favor a pluralist society and market economy. The system of the controlled economy started to lose ground as far back as 1970. Some people are trying to discover the failure of the East European societies in the past 10 years. However, this failure began much earlier. This failure is due to the incapability of the controlled economy to assimilate technical progress. This is the cause.

[Sandru] In accordance with your doctrine, is the market economy compatible with communism?

[Zbaganu] The notion of market economy is incorrectly identified with the idea of capitalism. The market economy is nothing else but a competitive framework within which prices are formed in accordance with the requirements of the market. It goes without saying that, under such circumstances, there are great social differences, and it is the duty of the state to intervene—in the interests of the masses—to limit such differentiations. From the very beginning, we want to say that we are not against differentiations stemming from work. As a matter of fact, the strictly egalitarian model is no longer promoted by any communist party; the problem that is posed now is to ensure equal chances. Unfortunately, differences in our country do not stem from work, but from stealing.

[Sandru] Are you not afraid? Do you not think that your efforts make you vulnerable to violence?

[Zbaganu] I, myself, and we have received numerous telephone calls. Some people swear at us; they think we are irresponsible, crazy, or criminal; others, on the contrary, say that our gesture was needed. This being the situation, it is better—at least for the time being—not to publicize the names of people who make up our reorganization committee. Part of them do not want to be hit at every single day. It is not pleasant to suffer for the foul tricks of others who are completely alien to the ideology and spirit of the leftist movement. It is said that Ceausescu was a communist. This is an aberration. He was anticommunist. No one has done more harm to communism in Romania than the regime that died because it was ready to die in 1989.

[Sandru] If your formation declares that it is the continuation of the Communist Party, would it not be natural that you assume moral responsibility for the abuses and crimes committed by it in the four and half decades of dictatorship?

[Zbaganu] Contrary to the other "historic" parties that do not assume responsibility for the past (the dark side of it), the Communist Party assumes responsibility for all its actions. The problem of responsibility is very important. We will assume responsibility to the extent to which it can be assessed. There is an aspect of responsibility that should not be sought exclusively within our country's boundaries. All of us know that there was extraordinary pressure from outside, and we know that history was blocked up to 1985. By the way, on the question of responsibility, we have to pursue individual responsibility because, beginning with 1970, a greater and greater gap was created between party members and the nomenklatura. Therefore, to each one according to his deeds; those who were and are Communist Party members should not be judged en masse.

## Industrial Production To Rise in Coming Months

*AU2608132491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0922 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 26/8/1991—Industrial production is expected to rise in the closing months of the year in the manufacturing industry as a whole and in most of its departments, a survey of the National Commission for Statistics shows. The forecast is supported by the finding that a low 21 per cent of the people polled pointed to a downturn of production, with the balance predicting either its stability or an upturn.

Production is expected to rise mainly in the industries that were plagued by energy and materials shortages such as glassware and construction materials, along with railway equipment industrial machines and equipment, electric machinery and plant, household appliances and equipment.

Production is expected to drop in road equipment manufacture, shipbuilding, precision and optical medical instruments, machine tools and the textile industry.

The biggest obstacle to production growth are financial problems (37 per cent of the people interviewed) which result in manufacturers' rising stocks of finished products, and a slow-down or even halt of the manufacturing process.

Raw materials in short supply are blamed by over 80 percent of the people surveyed for the slower pace of production, and the problem is unlikely to be solved any time soon, 96 percent of the interviewees agreed, naming the metal, machine tools, computer and office equipment, chemical, furniture, leather and footwear industries as likely to suffer. Problems will continue to affect energy-intensive industries: chemical—87 per cent of the people polled; crude processing—61 per cent; construction materials—74 per cent; pulp and paper—73 per cent.

A good many managers (46 per cent) said that the work force now employed is larger than the planned production for the third quarter of the year would require, leading to layoffs, especially in the industries where production is expected to drop.

Opinions showed that only in one industry—furniture manufacture, the production of which is planned to rise—is the work force expected to be lower than necessary. Production in this industry in the first half of the

year was 3.9 percent up on the first half of 1989, which compares with an almost 30 percent drop in the performance of industry as a whole.

As concerns work force training, 83 per cent of the experts whose opinion was elicited assessed it as good for the present manufacturing spectrum.

The contracts and orders that the manufacturing industry has are below the capacity for 43 percent of the units, and this acts as a brake for the overall production growth the causes of which are financial problems and materials supplies.

As a rule, contracts are regarded as insufficient for the branches supplying production for investment the volume of which is planned to drop.

A relevant conclusion is that 65 per cent of the manufacturers have recorded a rising demand for their products—more than they had anticipated judging from their contracts.

In light of the orders and contracts that have already been concluded, and of their probable course until the end of the year, 99 per cent of the opinions polled regard the size of the current plants as being able to turn out the planned production.

The conclusion of the National Commission for Statistics Experts is optimistic as they predict as slight upturn in production in the near future provided that the government's recently announced measures deblock payments, more materials and electricity are allocated to production, the legislative framework is improved as well as cooperation between economic agents, and managerial training programmes are carried on more speedily.

## Slovenia

### Slovenes To Discuss Recognition of Baltic Republics

*AU2608101091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 25 Aug 91*

[Text] Bearing in mind the fact that the governments of numerous European countries announced imminent recognition of the Baltic republics and the establishment of diplomatic relations with them, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia states that our republic has already initiated the process recognize Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia.

After the declaration of its independence, the Republic of Slovenia informed the governments of several countries—among them the governments of the Baltic republics—about this and asked them to recognize it. Through a special emissary of the Lithuanian Foreign Minister this Baltic republic on 16 August 1991 in writing informed the Slovene Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the Lithuanian Parliament's decision to recognize the Republic of Slovenia and about the mandate given to its government to initiate the process of establishing diplomatic relations with the Republic of Slovenia. The government of the Republic of Estonia has replied that the Republic of Slovenia's proposal on mutual recognition will be examined in the shortest possible time.

The Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia will discuss the recognition of the Baltic republics tomorrow, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will propose that the government initiate a debate on this matter in the Slovene Assembly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' communique states.

### Slovene Representative Appointed to U.S.

*AU2608110191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] A few days ago, Dr. Ernest Petric, former SFRY Ambassador in New Delhi returned to Ljubljana from India. As is known, Dr. Petric offered to resign from this post after the process of his being appointed the first official Slovene representative in the United States had been initiated. [passage omitted]

### Deputy Minister: Army Stepping Up Withdrawal

*LD2508134891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1251 GMT 25 Aug 91*

[Text] Maribor, August 25 (TANJUG)—Deputy Defence Minister of Slovenia Miran Bogataj said in an interview which is published in today's Maribor daily VECER that the Yugoslav Army has stepped up its withdrawal from this Yugoslav republic, acting upon its own decision.

"It is our assessment that over 50 percent of the materiel and from 30-40 percent of the personnel of the Yugoslav Army have left Slovenia so far," Bogataj assessed. Bagataj is also leader of the Slovenian negotiating group for the Army's withdrawal from Slovenia.

The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia proclaimed secession from Yugoslavia on June 26. The Federal Army which was sent to protect the state borders at the order of the Yugoslav Presidency was attacked in Slovenia and declared an aggressor.

The state Presidency adopted a decision on July 18 that the Yugoslav Army withdraw from Slovenia. The military authorities announced that the withdrawal would be completed by the end of September.

### Ljubljana Corps Says Captured Arms Being Sold

*LD2608144491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1238 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Ljubljana, August 26 (TANJUG)—The command of the Ljubljana Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army today announced that it "has been learned from reliable sources that the leadership of Slovenia (Yugoslav republic) has so far sold over 30 percent of the arms and equipment captured from the Yugoslav People's Army to the National Guard and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia (Yugoslav republic)."

The statement said that, "by selling somebody else's arms, the Slovene leadership has made illicit material gains, which conceal a farce of the oral principles of a policy which is allegedly and in public battling for a peaceful and humane resolution of the Yugoslav crisis."

The statement specified that that fact also explained why Slovenia was not able to return the captured military equipment and arms to the Yugoslav People's Army.

### Rupel Interviewed on Crisis Situation

*LD2708093291 Budapest MTI in English 0757 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Budapest, August 27 (MTI)—'Although we are too small to settle the whole crisis, we would like to become a significant political factor in Yugoslavia. This is what I emphasized during my talks with Mr Jeszenszky. Although Slovenia is an independent state, it advocates the idea of a conference on security and cooperation in Yugoslavia, and makes preparations for taking part in it,' Dimitrij Rupel, foreign minister of the Slovenian Republic, told the Tuesday issue of PESTI HIRLAP.

Concerning Slovenia's political situation, the foreign minister said:

'We are in a particularly delicate political situation. The Federal Army opposes Slovenia and so far only 40 per cent of its forces have left the Republic. True, all Slovens

who used to serve in Federal Army have returned home. The territory of Slovenia is under the control of the republican forces. Its situation is rather stable, at least more peaceful than that of Croatia. But we are also afraid that we will not able to enjoy stability a long time. We are seeking for a solution, which would bring peace to Croatia as well. It is a duty of the Yugoslav Army and the federal government to halt armed aggression in Croatia. The central government should be put under control. This would settle the situation of the country so that Yugoslavia should finally be removed from the front pages of papers. The Yugoslav Army, which is playing a political role, should be credible and legitimate. What happened in the Soviet Union came as a warning: Similar events should not be allowed to take place in Yugoslavia. We would need a greater deal of external assistance. I think, however, that the peoples of Croatia and Slovenia are seen by the international public as the means of reconciliation in Yugoslavia,' the Slovenian foreign minister told PESTI HIRLAP.

### Rupel Says Recognition Would Help Democracy

*AU2708094291 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Aug 91 p 4*

[Interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Irene Miller, in Vienna; date not given: "The Wall of Non-Recognition Has Been Broken"]

[Text] [Miller] Do you think that the events in the Soviet Union will have an effect on the situation in Slovenia?

[Rupel] The events in the Soviet Union are, indeed, influencing the situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia. When I agreed with Foreign Minister Alois Mock last week to meet today, I was concerned about the hard-liners in the Soviet Union asserting themselves. That was a very serious moment for us because we were all sure that the Serbian generals would copy the Soviet example to their advantage. Since then, the situation in the Soviet Union has changed, and we think it has changed for the better. Boris Yeltsin has now paved the way for international recognition of those republics that do not wish to continue as members of the Soviet Union.

We have always had particularly good relations with the Baltic republics. By the way, Lithuania recognized Slovenia even a year ago, and we have recognized all three Baltic republics. Lithuania and Slovenia are about to exchange ambassadors—before the end of this week. So Lithuania is the first internationally recognized country in the world to recognize Slovenia, and it is the first country with which we will resume diplomatic relations and cooperate closely. So we have broken the wall of international silence and of non-recognition, and that has, of course, symbolic significance.

The situation in the Soviet Union has considerably facilitated Austria's position. The Soviet Union criticized Austria because of its position on Slovenia and Croatia when Bessmertnykh was foreign minister. However, Soviet policy has changed now. Therefore, we believe that all the international barriers hindering Austria from recognizing Slovenia have disappeared.

[Miller] Do you think that the international community should view Slovenia and Croatia as a whole?

[Rupel] Slovenia and Croatia have practiced solidarity. We will live together as neighbors for the next 1,000 years. That is why we want to have very good relations with Croatia. We are doing our best to make these relations as good as possible. We would be happy to see Croatia recognized simultaneously with Slovenia. owever, Croatia and Slovenia are no Siamese twins. We must help each other, but our positions are different. We would like to see Croatia independent as soon as possible, just as we would like to see that for ourselves. However, Croatia must still overcome a few technical difficulties. Technically and politically, Slovenia is better prepared for independence, and of course, Slovenia controls its territory. However, Croatia is now in a tragic situation. Therefore, it would be a good idea to recognize both simultaneously.

[Miller] But you would not accept the idea that Slovenia should only be recognized if Croatia can be recognized, would you?

[Rupel] Well, you have just answered this question yourself. But we believe that we could help Croatia if we were to be recognized prior to Croatia. If there is no recognition, and if the international community insists on the theory that Yugoslavia's unity must be maintained, then this would only encourage the Army and the centralist forces in Yugoslavia. It is important that part of Yugoslavia be recognized, and I do not care which part, and it could be Kosovo. That would be an impetus for the democratization of Yugoslavia. A beginning must be made.

[Miller] The Brioni agreement was originally intended to give all parts of Yugoslavia time for new negotiations. Have there been any new negotiations?

[Rupel] No, Slovenia's President Milan Kucan briefed us on the last meeting of the Presidency this morning. He assesses the situation quite negatively. There was a long quarrel about who was responsible for the outbreak of the war, and of course, they have not reached a result. The mere presence of General Adzic at such negotiations has made me lose confidence in this body's ability to hold productive discussions. The Army has sided with Serbia so clearly that negotiations are just a waste of time—a tragic waste of time. Nonetheless, we are ready to continue to negotiate. We have drafted a plan that envisions setting up a conference on security and cooperation in Yugoslavia. It has been inspired by the CSCE. We need to have rules, and such rules exist in Europe—respect for human rights and the inviolability of borders. Slovenia is ready to be a member of such a conference; however, it is no longer ready to be a member of a federation or confederation.

[Miller] Is the report correct that only 19 Slovenes are left in the Federal Army?

[Rupel] I do not want to give binding figures; however, as a matter of fact, virtually all Slovenes resigned from the Federal Army as of 15 August. By the way, they do not have to do military service in Slovenia now, but we may have to ask them to take part in brief military exercises.

[Miller] How is the economic situation?

[Rupel] That is no big problem. About 25 percent of our products are exported to the rest of Yugoslavia. Ten percent of them go to Serbia; there are difficulties, even though I heard recently that some enterprises have been doing excellent business with their Serbian partners. Currently, Croatia is the major problem. Here, too, our exports are about 10 percent. The real problem is that there is war in Croatia. Therefore, our economic relations are disturbed. However, we believe that we can survive quite well. Our unemployment rate is about 5 percent. The real problem is the distribution of the debts and assets of Yugoslavia as a whole.

## Croatia

### Separovic Discusses Guarantee for Serbs

*AU2708091291 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Aug 91 p 4*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by Wolfgang Boehm, in the Austrian city of Alpbach; date not given: "A Dirty War; Zagreb Ready to Provide Guarantees to Serbs"]

[Text] [Boehm] The failed coup in the Soviet Union has brought the recognition of the Baltic states to the agenda. Do you think that it has also made international recognition of Croatia possible?

[Separovic] That is what we are hoping for. If the bloodshed continues and the policy of violence is not stopped immediately, we must fear the worst. We cannot wait any longer until everything gets even worse. We are expecting an attack against our major cities, including the capital, Zagreb. In Dalmatia even the Navy has been involved in an operation. More than 100,000 people have become refugees. This is a mean and dirty war, in which Serbian territorial groups are openly supported by the Federal Army. This war is based on lies and the falsification of historic facts while the real reason behind it is the effort to create a Greater Serbia.

[Boehm] Still, does the Serb minority not have the legitimate right to pursue a course of its own?

[Separovic] The Serbian areas are part of Croat territory, including their Croat population. Terrorists have drawn up plans for the creation of purely Serbian areas. Some 300 people have already been killed in illegal fighting. This war is not only a danger for Croatia but for all of Europe. We are ready for an immediate cease-fire. If Austria, Hungary, and in particular the EC were to recognize our independence, even this brutal war might end. We are now expecting promises to be kept. There is not much time left. Europe must not remain silent. In return, we would be more than willing to guarantee the Serbian minority the right to self-determination under international control.

[Boehm] Why do you think that recognition of independence might make the Serbian forces end the hostilities?

[Separovic] Well, it is true that there is not a direct causal link. Nevertheless, being recognized as an entity recognized under international law would enable us to claim international protection through the United Nations and the EC. Recognition might promote peace if Europe were to intervene not only politically and diplomatically but also militarily by dispatching peace-keeping forces. Europe must react as the world reacted in the case of Kuwait. After all, the cases are quite similar.

[Boehm] The world is currently observing events in Moscow. Do you think that the Serbian offensive is related to the fact that Yugoslavia is no longer being given so much attention by the international community?

[Separovic] It is not a coincidence that this offensive has been opened just now. Anyway, we feel better now that the coup in Moscow has failed.

[Boehm] Militarily, does Croatia stand any chance against the attacking Serbian troops, which are even supported by the Federal Army?

[Separovic] Only if we get international support; even an all-out war might be prevented if, in particular, our neighbors were to back us. We are hoping for help from Austria.

### Council Studies Increased Presidential Powers

*LD2608183291 Zagreb Radio Croatian Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] A session of the Supreme State Council has been held in Zagreb under the chairmanship of Dr. Franjo Tudjman, President of the Republic of Croatia. It has been announced that this session considered a report from the last session of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, held on 23 August, and reports by the minister of defense and the minister of internal affairs on the latest situation in the crisis areas in the Republic of Croatia.

Dr. Milan Ramljak, deputy prime minister of Croatia, reported on the Presidency session at which consideration was given to the letter from President Franjo Tudjman to the Presidency. As the public already knows, the Presidency failed to adopt specific conclusions or take clear steps. Hence the Council concluded that it is necessary to request that the Federal Presidency specifically reply to all the demands made in the letter by 31 August at the latest.

The Ministers of Defense and Internal Affairs reported to the Council on the escalation of the battles in existing hot spots and on the creation of crisis flashpoints in some new areas. It was assessed that the most serious situation is in Vukovar, where units of the Yugoslav Army placed themselves in the most open way on the side of the Chetnik terrorists. It was also considered and agreed that urgent measures be taken to help and support the units and people in this area.

At the Council session, stances on the proposal that the government (?and) regular municipal bodies should take over some of the roles and tasks of the present crisis headquarters were also coordinated. The Council also—because of the level of danger, peculiar position, and unity of the republic—proposed the application of Article 101 of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia, which empowers the president of the republic to adopt decrees that have the force of law. This was stated at the end of the statement on today's session of the Supreme State Council.

### Crisis Headquarters Established in Daruvar

*LD2608173391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Daruvar, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The bodies of the Republic of Croatia in Daruvar today appointed a crisis headquarters for the Daruvar municipality, which has taken over the functions of civilian government. The crisis headquarters is headed by Vinko Mioc.

The police station command has sent a public call to all citizens of the municipality to hand in their weapons within 24 hours, regardless of whether they possess a license or not. This, the message says, does not apply to those who are already part of one of the forms of "defense organization."

From today, both Daruvar kindergartens have begun operating, as well as several enterprises that undertook to call their workers to work this morning.

### Belgrade Radio on Threat of Mobilization

*AU2508171491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 25 Aug 91*

[Dragan Mihovic report from the "Sunday at Ten" Program]

[Text] There were more members of the Corps of the National Guard on the streets of Zagreb this morning than there were civilians, as has been the case on many mornings recently. There will be fewer of them as the day goes by. All day, however, the citizens of Zagreb will be convinced that Croatia is in a war.

Locally-produced or imported trash trucks have recently been converted into military personnel carriers. Iron bars used for blocking streets are also ready. All this is accompanied by a parade of threatening and nationalistic speeches in the assembly, on Jelacic Square, and other places, but the impression is that the authorities' poor performance cannot inspire anyone, except perhaps the authorities themselves. The ordinary citizen of Zagreb today feels humiliated in many ways. There is a threat of general mobilization, of the economy being adapted to work under war conditions, and so forth.

It appears that the principal issue of attitudes toward the political rights of Serbs is about to be resolved, although this has not officially been confirmed. Premier Greguric, in fact, denies it. The fact is that neither the government nor the assembly have officially recognized the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, but the project which we are talking about is not just any piece of paper, because it was prepared by an inter-party commission with the assembly president and the adviser to the president of the republic. The document offers all the political rights that were demanded by the Serbs. It promises a coat of arms, a flag, schools, a university, money, and influence on television, then, explicitly, political and territorial autonomy.

In addition to carrying a polemic between a Croatian journalist and Prime Minister Greguric about this topic, the newspaper GLOBUS also carries a facsimile of the front page of the document, which begins with the words; The Assembly of the Republic of Croatia.

However, until unofficial documents become official, if they do, there are more and more victims, more damage, and more refugees. The Croatian Military Corps [Hrvatski casnicki zbor] was also formed yesterday, This is the broadest national association, a supra-national association that will serve the needs of a war.

Luka Bebic, Croatian defense minister, pompously announced yet another victory, namely that the Croatian military industry is already producing weapons. With these weapons, as he says, Croatia will begin to mop up its territory.

Nobody believes in the current peace in Zagreb any longer.

### Juzbasic Says Chetniks, Army 'Aggressors'

*AU2608111691 Vienna PROFIL in German 26 Aug 91 p 47*

[Interview with Minister Without Portfolio Sivko Juzbasic, "the only Serbian minister in the Croatian Government" and member of the government commission controlling the cease-fire, by Rudolf Gruber; place and date not given: "A Traitor?"]

[Text] [Gruber] Mr. Minister, you are a Serbian national. What would you call the armed civilians who have shelled and destroyed Croatian villages under the cover of the Army?

[Juzbasic] I am in agreement with my government. The Chetniks and the Army units there are the aggressors. I have seen the Army standing fully on the Serbian side.

We doubt that the Army's intentions are honest. Many examples prove that soldiers fire at Croatian police who are asking for help against the Chetniks.

[Gruber] Given this situation, can we still speak about a cease-fire?

[Juzbasic] In the first 12 days of the cease-fire, there were 107 serious violations, in which 10 Croatian National Guardsmen were killed and 42 injured. Regrettably, I do not have figures on the civilian victims, but I know that 13 people were killed in fighting at Okucani last week. This cease-fire exists only on paper. If Europe does not help, it will come to nothing. However, the Serbian side does not want to have any foreign observers here because it is afraid of the truth.

[Gruber] When you are on your fact-finding missions in the battle area, do the Serbian people abuse you because you are a Serb?

[Juzbasic] We have had different experiences in regions with a mixed population. The Serbs have welcomed the Army everywhere because they believe that the soldiers will restore peace. The Croats' reaction is one of depression. There are altogether 100,000 refugees on both sides. I talked to representatives of Serbian refugees, who called me a traitor.

[Gruber] Have the 600,000 Serbs in Croatia been put at a disadvantage or even suppressed?

[Juzbasic] The Serbian population in Croatia has been terribly exploited because of Milosevic's policy. The Milosevic government would like to use them to conquer certain regions. The Croatian Serbs will have to suffer the most terrible fate in Europe. My government is ready to grant the Serbs all rights in line with the European standards. That means they would have more rights than they have had under the existing federative Constitution. Some 75 percent of the Croatian Serbs live in cities. They know that there is no Ustasha government in power in Zagreb. The rest are being manipulated.

### Government Demands 'General Mobilization'

*LD2708081191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0608 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Aug (TANJUG)—Respond immediately to Serbian and Army aggression throughout the territory of Croatia, lift the embargo on the import of arms to Croatia, ban the movement of the Yugoslav Army in Croatia, implement general mobilization as urgently as possible—these are the demands made by ministers last night at an emergency session of the Croatian Government. According to a report on Croatian Television, Prime Minister Dr. Franjo Greguric spoke at the emergency session of the government on the situation in the Republic. In the debate, along with the already mentioned demands, it was also stressed that the president of the Republic should preside over sessions of the government once a week, should in particular encourage all young defenders of the Republic of Croatia, procure additional arms for them and be together with them, and publicly address loyal Serbs in Croatia and call upon them to defend Croatia.

The government also discussed the situation in Baranja [eastern Croatia]. It was concluded that Baranja has been occupied by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], but it was stressed that Baranja would be liberated, as would the whole of Croatia, in a liberation war which the government is ready to implement. The government expressed its thanks "to the heroes in Vukovar, who for two days now have been fighting to defend this town." According to the Croatian Television report, Franjo Greguric, prime minister of Croatia, accused the YPA of involvement in the most blatant manner in the attacks on Kijevo.

As a result of the dramatic situation, the Croatian Government will also have a meeting on Tuesday and adopt the most concrete measures, it was concluded at the nighttime session of the Croatian Government.

### Kostic Says Croatia Launching 'General Offensive'

*LD2608142291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Since 22 August there have been 27 armed and other attacks on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA], in which two members of the YPA have been killed and seven injured, Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Commission for the Supervision of the Cease-Fire in Croatia, said at today's news conference.

In terms of the intensity and brutality of the attacks on the YPA, it is assessed that it is a matter of a general offensive by Croatia against the YPA, Kostic said. The YPA in Croatia is considered to be an army of occupation, although it has been opening fire exclusively in cases in which it has been attacked, he added.

### Army, 'Chetnik Outlaws' Attack Kijevo

*LD2608122791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] According to the latest news from the Vrlika police administration, the Croatian village of Kijevo has been attacked by the occupying Yugoslav Army, while six tanks and 10 military vehicles are moving from the direction of Polaca toward Kijevo. The Chetnik outlaws and their allies from the ranks of Yugoslav soldiery are currently firing mortars at the position of Croatian Guardists—from the direction of Kosorka Glavica.

### 'Fierce Fighting' Erupts in Baranja Region

*LD2608104291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0933 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Osijek, August 26 (TANJUG)—Fierce fighting is going on in Borovo Selo, Borovo Naselje and Vukovar, the center of the Croatian region of Baranja, this morning.

Croatian Radio reports that an 'infantry attack was launched' on Vukovar and the town is the target of mortar and cannon fire.

Yugoslav Army sources say that fire was opened from Borovo Naselje, where the Croatian Guard and police are stationed, on Borovo Selo and the Yugoslav Army Unit in the village.

Fire was returned and the defenders of Borovo Selo mounted an attack which is still going on.

Reinforcements are arriving to the Croatian police and National Guard from the direction of Vinkovci.

Mortar and artillery fire was opened on the Yugoslav Army barracks in Vukovar during the night. Army sources say that the attack was repelled.

The same sources say that the situation in Osijek is relatively calm.

### 'Chetnik-Army Coalition' Attacks Vukovar Area

*LD2608120491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] The area of Vukovar has been exposed to a fierce attack by the Chetnik-Army coalition, in which Army aircraft were also involved. This morning they overflew the area of fighting about 10 times, and above Borovo Nasalje they dropped cluster bombs—banned by international conventions. The air raid warning is still in force. Vukovar is encircled, and the only road that was safe until now has been occupied by the Army. The morale of the defenders of Vukovar is at a high level. According to incomplete information, four have been killed and 10 injured in the fighting, while during the night Croatian forces destroyed nine tanks of the Yugoslav (?soldiers).

### Telephone Links Between Osijek, Vukovar Cut

*LD2608120591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] We have been informed by the Croatian post and telecommunications service in Osijek that, as of today, Osijek's telephone links with Vukovar, Ilok, and Tenja have been put out of action, and telephone links between Vinkovci and Vukovar are also out of action.

### Missiles Used in Air Attack on Vinkovci

*LD2608123191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Summary] At about 1330, the Yugoslav Army launched an air atack on Vinkovci. "This is not the first air attack on the town, but it is the first time that misiles have been used. Powerful explosions have shattered windows in most of the town."

Citizens are being advised to remain in the air raid shelters until they hear the "all-clear" sirens.

### Novi Sad Corps Denies Attacking Ilok

*AU2608132191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] A report broadcast by Croatian Radio claiming that the Yugoslav People's Army and Army Reserve were attacking Ilok from Backa Palanka is a common lie and another attempt to deceive the domestic and international public. This was stated to our correspondent Djordje Jatovic by the representatives of the Novi Sad Corps, who guard the bridge between Backa Palanka and Ilok. At the moment, everything is peaceful at the bridge, and the bridge is open to traffic. This is the correct information.

### Fierce Fighting Reported in Vukovar, Ilok

*AU2608141491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Mirko Stankovic report]

[Text] This morning about 0500, there was an open armed clash between members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the corps of the so-called National Guard of Croatia on the one side, and the defenders of Borovo Selo and the units of the Yugoslav People's Army on the other side. As the fighting progressed, it spread further and more people got involved.

Tank and land forces (?opened fire) from several directions. A bit later, Air Force planes and the ships of the river fleet also joined in. All available weapons were in use—mortars and canons above all.

The medical service and first aid immediately joined the action. Because of the danger of being attacked from the air, the actual hospitalization is carried out in an improvised medical unit in a cellar.

According to local radio, there are many dead and wounded. According to a statement by Milan Brezak, Croatian deputy minister for internal affairs, at a news conference today, fighting is simultaneously taking place for the liberation of Ilok, which, as he said, is being attacked by the [word indistinct] Army from the Sid and Backa Palanka direction.

Both actions are being heavily supported by the Air Force planes that are attacking objects and live targets of

the defense. A possible retreat by the defenders of Vukovar, members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs and the National Guard, has been prevented, because the armored units of the Yugoslav People's Army closed the only road to Vinkovci last night. Roads to Osijek had been closed before.

While we are reporting, the Army is breaking the resistance of the defenders of Vukovar and Ilok, and it is expected that the resistance will be successfully broken soon.

Finally, if the claim by the Croatian leadership that Croatia is defended in this area is true, then it is certain that Yugoslavia will be equally defended in all Serbian villages and by the Yugoslav People's Army.

### Novi Sad Corps Denies Army Attack on Ilok

*AU2608151291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] You heard that [Croatian Deputy Interior Minister Milan] Brezak said in Zagreb that Ilok was under an attack. A report from Djordje Jarcevic from this area contradicts this statement by Brezak:

[Jarcevic] While the attack by Ustasha formations on the units of the Yugoslav People's Army in Vukovar was under way last night, all persons 16 years of age and up who were able to fight were mobilized in Ilok. This general mobilization in Ilok was carried out under the pretext that the Yugoslav People's Army is preparing an attack on this town. While the mobilization was under way, members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs blocked the road junction near the 25 May Bridge with several tanker trucks.

Because of that, the bridge was closed to traffic during the night. Some shooting was heard in Ilok itself, but we do not have any information as to who was shooting at whom.

Early this morning, the roadblock was removed, and the unit of the Yugoslav People's Army that is protecting the bridge has undertaken all measures to ensure normal flow of traffic toward Nestin, Vizic, and Sid via Principovci.

The extent of the Croatian side's panic is illustrated by the fact that the Croats described the convoy of several army tanks that were returning from overhauling in Novi Sad to Sid via Ilok area as an attack on the town. About one hour ago, Croatian Radio stated that the Yugoslav People's Army and military reservists are currently attacking Ilok from the Backa Palanka side.

To check this information, we called the Army unit stationed near the bridge. A representative of the Novi Sad Corps said that this was blatant lie, as peace reigns around the bridge, which is even open to traffic. We learned from our colleagues from Backa Palanka that, during this morning, some 20 weather controlling rockets were fired from the Vukovar side and that they fell near Vajska, but there was no significant damage or casualties. The crossing near Dva Jablana on the Danube between Vajska and Borovo Selo is closed. Speedboats are used on this crossing only to ferry the wounded defenders of Borovo Selo.

### Dozens Reported Killed in Vukovar Fighting

*AU2608165291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Milena Markovic report]

[Text] Vukovar was the scene of fierce fighting today. Shooting took place everywhere, using all available weapons. This only represents the continuation of an attack on the Vukovar barracks the night before last, to which the Army fiercely responded. The dawn, which was preceded by a lull that was disturbed only by sporadic sniper fire, was marked by the sounds of alarm sirens. At the same time, several strong explosions were heard in the Borovo Naselje region and in (Mitrice).

As we were told, Air Force reconnaissance planes were fired on from the Vinkovci silos and from (?a farm) near (?Opasovac), where the units of the Croatian National Guard were stationed. The planes responded (?fiercely) in kind. At the same time, an attack was launched on the Yugoslav People's Army unit that is safeguarding peace in Borovo Selo.

Also, at about noon, weather-controlling rockets modified for war were fired on the Vukovar barracks. Fortunately, they flew over the barracks and fell on (?unintended) targets, that is to say, buildings in Vukovar.

As we were unofficially informed, several dozens of people lost their lives in the fighting. The Army, that is to say, the Air Force, is blamed for this. By blaming the Army, people are forgetting that members of the Croatian National Guard today also aimed their mortars at civilian targets, something the citizens of Vukovar can confirm.

Judging by everything, the night ahead does not promise peace either. New forces of the corps of the National Guard have been noticed to be (?moving) toward Vukovar from the surrounding villages.

### Army Aircraft Strafe Krusevo Near Obrovac

*LD2608212591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] According to reports from the crisis headquarters of the municipality of Zadar, Chetnik terrorists and the Federal Army today again attacked Krusevo near Obrovac. At 1530, mortar fire was opened and by 1645 more than 50 shells had landed on Krusevo. At 1655, Krusevo was attacked by military army MiG aircraft that strafed the center of Krusevo. It has unofficially been learned that some houses were destroyed.

The crisis headquarters of the municipality of Zadar was informed by the defense secretariat in Trogir that before the attack on Kijevo a radio ham intercepted a message on the Army frequency that said: Start strafing, especially Kijevo and Maslenicki.

### Vukovar National Guards Repel Army Attacks

*LD2608184691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] We have received fresh details of this afternoon's attack on Vukovar. According to information from the Vinkovci Information Center, Vukovar's attackers suffered great losses. But for the extremists among the Serbian reservists and the threats from the commanders of the Novi Sad Corps, the regular soldiers and officers would have surrendered. According to information carried by HINA, National Guard Corps officers believed that this would be the only honorable way out for the attackers.

In the last 24 hours of the fighting in Vokovar and Borovo Naselje, it was learned that Croatian defense units have brought down five planes and destroyed 20 tanks, seven armored personnel carriers, and four armored cars of the army of aggression. At 1600, three armored personnel carriers entered Borovo Selo and discharged Chetniks in camouflage uniforms with badges of the so-called police of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. Members of the National Guard Corps opened fire and put one personnel carrier out of action. Three Chetniks were killed and the remainder dispersed. The defenders of Vukovar and Borovo Naselje reportedly received fresh reinforcements during the course of the day.

### 'Still Under Siege'; New Missile Attack

*LD2708083591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] Before the beginning of this news bulletin, we have received information that a new air attack has begun on Vukovar. Zvezdana Polovina reports:

[Polovina] Vukovar is still under siege. According to information from the police administration, fighting is still going on along a line between Borovo Selo and Borovo Naselje, and there is shooting from heavy infantry weapons and from [word indistinct]. They are reporting from the information center that several missiles have also been reported as having been fired at the town itself from the Vukovar barracks. [passage omitted]

### Central Parts of Croatia Reported 'Relatively Calm'

*LD2708140991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1138 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska, August 27 (TANJUG)—It was relatively calm in the areas of Okucani and Nova Gradiska, central part of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as TANJUG correspondents reported.

Croatian Radio confirmed that in this part of the republic it was quiet and cited that "Chetniks and armored Army units" with mortars attacked the positions of the Croatian forces in this area.

According to the Army sources, the forces of the Croatian Interior Ministry and the Guard attacked at Mali Strug the positions of the Yugoslav Army, which returned fire.

Refugees continued arriving from Slavonia, eastern Croatia, to the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Over the past 24 hours alone, some 350 women and children arrived on the Bosnia-Hercegovina territory from the area of Okucani.

In the areas of Okucani and Gradiska, according to the sources of the Territorial Defense of Okucani, the forces of Croatian police held 7 of the total of 32 villages. The others were under control of the Territorial Defense of Okucani.

### Kijevo Said Destroyed; Government Session Canceled

*LD2708110291*

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0910 GMT on 27 August broadcasts live a 35-minute news conference in Zagreb with Mate Granic, deputy prime minister of Croatia, who begins by reporting on his recent visit to Hungary.

Granic remarks that although there are officially 10,000 refugees in Hungary, the true figure is probably more like 25,000. He expresses thanks to the Hungarian Government for its assistance in looking after the refugees. He believes that Hungary could be the first country to "recognize the Republic of Croatia" and says that discussions are going ahead for setting up a Croatian office in Budapest.

At 0918 GMT questions from journalists begin. The first is about Kijevo, to which Granic replies that "Kijevo is in the hands of the enemy." Granic says that in the fighting in Croatia so far, 256 people have been killed and 820 injured overall, and that this figure includes Croatian Guard members as well as members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP).

At 0935 GMT a police report on developments in Kijevo is read: It says that 1,500 missiles were fired at Kijevo; 34 overflights by military aircraft have been carried out; 16 cluster bombs were dropped on MUP positions in Kijevo; on two occasions heavy bombs were dropped on MUP positions; and military helicopters were also used. Seven tanks and a large number of infantry were used in the attack. Casualty figures are not known, but three tanks were destroyed by the Croatian MUP, and there are a great many killed among those in the Yugoslav People's Army. Granic reports that 'Kijevo has been

completely destroyed. After the entry of the military forces into Kijevo, the buildings that remained intact were plundered, set fire to, and blown up."

At 0940 Granic continues to take further questions. At 0945, at the end of the news conference, an announcement is read:

"The Ministry of Information is authorized to inform you that the session of the government announced earlier, and scheduled to take place at 1900 [1700 GMT] today, will not be held because of the heavy workload of Prime Minister Dr. Franjo Greguric and of ministers, many of whom are away and engaged on current business."

### Croatian Officials Discuss Vukovar Fighting

*AU2708163791 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Vukovar, Yugoslavia, Aug 27 (AFP) - Heavy fighting around the towns of Vukovar and Borovo Naselje in Croatia's eastern Slavonia region left one person dead and several injured, local official Main Vidic said.

Yugoslav federal army troops had fired more than 600 rockets at the two towns since 6:00 a.m. (0400 GMT) in their continuing battle against nationalist Croat forces, a Croatian guard officer told AFP at the scene.

Vukovar, a town which normally counts 60,000 inhabitants, was deserted and badly damaged, an AFP correspondent said.

Several Yugoslav Army tanks also fired on the town, as did three navy vessels that sailed down the River Danube from Novi Sad, 60 kilometres (37 miles north of the Yugoslav capital Belgrade).

Clashes on Monday killed 10 Croats, mainly civilians, a Croatian guard officer said.

## Serbia

### Serbia Wants Border Changes if Croatia Independent

*LD2708123591 Hamburg DPA in German 1101 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Stuttgart (DPA)—Serbia demands corrections to its border should Croatia leave the Yugoslav Federation. Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said this today on Sueddeutsche Rundfunk radio. This refers particularly to those areas of Croatia that have a Serbian majority. He expressed his disappointment at Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's position, with whom he had a meeting in Bonn today. Genscher has threatened the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia several times in the last few weeks, should the fighting continue. Jovanovic referred to the CSCE final document, according to which the right to territorial integrity of a state, as well as the right to self-determination, can be recognized.

Regarding this, the Serbian foreign minister believes economic sanctions are completely inappropriate. Serbia does not deserve punishment. Serbia has never bent to the strongest pressure. Yugoslavia has always supported the German demands for reunification and has never recognized the intra-German border as the state border. Serbia therefore expects that Germany will support the preservation of the whole Yugoslav state.

### Appeal to EC Ministerial Council

*LD2708135791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1152 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, August 27 (TANJUG)—Serbian Government sent a message on Tuesday to the Ministerial Council of the European Community demanding that "the E.C. ask the Croatian authorities and President Tudjman to stop the terror against the Serbian people and the Yugoslav People's Army so that conditions would be created for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis."

Serbian Vice-Premier Budimir Kosutic told this to newsmen on Tuesday. He stated the hope that this appeal, drawn up at the Serbian Government session on Monday night, would be heeded.

### Zelanovic Urges Preservation of SFRY

*LD2608180191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1149 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Novi Sad, August 26 (TANJUG)—Serbia urged the preservation of Yugoslavia, regardless of whether it would remain within its present borders or have new ones, stated premier of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dragutin Zelenovic on Monday. Zelenovic explained at a meeting in Novi Sad, capital of Serbia's Vojvodina Province, that the preservation of Yugoslavia was a more favorable solution also at the international, military and economic levels. Yugoslava in any form would not have to seek international recognition, while the preservation of the Yugoslav Army was a better solution [words indistinct] new republican armies, said Zelenovic. He announced that Serbia was opting for some sort of a 'new deal' of its own so as to achieve economic re-birth. He said that efficient rationalization would be carried out in the enterprises, and republican administration halved. Zelenovic announced that the basis for the new economic development would be marked by extensive work [words indistinct] infrastructure such as several new highways, the fast railroad line [placename indistinct]-Dimitrovgrad and introducing gas into nearly all settlements in the republic.

### Radio on Croatian 'Synchronized' Attacks

*AU2608144491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Branko Pjetlovic report]

[Text] We were told by Ilija Kojic, minister of the territorial defense in the Government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, this morning that members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and other Croatian storm troopers attacked all Serbian villages in this region. These villages are: Pacetin, Brsadin, Trpinja, Borovo Selo, Tenja, and Bogota.

Unfortunately, this synchronized and what appears to be a well organized action by the Croatian authorities has resulted in three casualties so far, two in Borovo Selo and one in Trpinja. According to the information we presently have, seven people have been wounded. Among them is a soldier Darko Selakovic.

Information and programs broadcast by the Croatian Radio Vukovar are not only incorrect, but are also directly adding fuel to the fire. For instance, the radio broadcast the invention that nine tanks of the Yugoslav People's Army have been destroyed so far. The fact is that so far only one tank has been hit and that it has already been repaired. Vukovar Radio is also appealing to women to form a human barrier and stop the units of the Yugoslav People's Army.

We have unofficially learned that reinforcement has been sent to the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Corps of the National Guard in Vukovar from Vinkovci and Osijek. Members of the Croatian forces are constantly using snipers from the balconies and the surrounding buildings against the units of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The situation in Borovo Selo is presently calm but how long this will last is difficult to say.

### Croatian Forces Lose Village of Kijevo

*AU2608155791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] This morning, the units of the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army liberated Kijevo where there was a police station of the Croatian police. Danko Peric reports from Knin:

[Danko Peric] At 1210, at one of numerous firing positions toward Kijevo, we heard the following message: Kijevo no longer exists. This message was sent via radio by the commander of one of the two Croatian armed formations from Kijevo, either the formation of the Ministry for Internal Affairs or the National Guard. In this way he in fact admitted defeat.

The officers of the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army are still modest in describing what happened during the two days of fighting. They say that they are holding Kijevo under control.

This morning's action started at 0525 and, as far as we could see, ended after several hours of fighting. Tanks and land forces of the Yugoslav People's Army set off a few minutes ago toward the positions near Kijevo and other places in Cetina Krajina.

This morning' actions were jointly carried out by the artillery and two Galeb planes, which opened fire and destroyed with missiles the barricades on the road toward Sinj and [name indistinct]. Members of the Croatian Armed Forces put up some resistance yesterday, but this morning they were fleeing in panic. It appears that they have regrouped on (?the slopes of Mount Dinara). [passage omitted]

We also received information from Obrovac that the entire population of this town has been moved out, and that fighting is going on Icevo, (Lupe), Dubravica, (Vujak), and (Lacan) near Bratiskovci. According to some information, about 1,000 Croatians are taking part in the offensive.

### Albanian Teachers in Kosovo Dismissed

*LD2608183791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1728 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Pristina, August 26 (TANJUG)—The Education Secretariat of Kosovo, the southern province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, today sent about 6,000 notices of dismissal to ethnic Albanian secondary school teachers who taught according to the, as said, 'teaching plans and programs of the republic of Kosovo.'

Deputy Provincial Secretary for Education Zika Nedeljkovic today told TANJUG that these teachers had 'boycotted the unified plans and programs of the Republic of Serbia.'

Ethnic Albanians are a national minority in Yugoslavia. According to the 1981 census they make [words indistinct] 15 percent of the population of the Republic of Serbia and about 90 percent of the population of Kosovo province. There are no recent data, because ethnic Albanians boycotted the census held in Yugoslavia in spring this year.

In June last year, the Republic of Serbia suspended the 'constitutional declaration on the republic of Kosovo' which was illegally proclaimed by Albanian delegates in the Kosovo parliament.

The authorities in Serbia have decreed that unified teaching programs be taught in the entire territory of the Republic.

Around 130,000 ethnic Albanian students were taught according to programs which the provincial education secretariat had declared invalid.

Nedeljkovic said that these students had been 'offered on two occasions to take exams to make up for the differences between the obsolete plans and programs and the new ones and thus pass into the next grade.'

'Most of them did not show up for these exams. That is why classes in secondary schools which teach in the Albanian language will not be able to (?begin) on September 2nd,' Nedeljkovic said, and announced that ads would be placed for new teachers in the meantime.

The Albanian-language SHKENDIA, meanwhile, today reported that the Educational Council of Kosovo had met and concluded that 'classes in Albanian secondary schools start on September 2nd...the curriculum will follow new plans and programs which have been adopted by the legitimate organs of Kosovo.'

The Educational Council of Kosovo includes only ethnic Albanian experts. The council was dissolved in June last year as part of the reaction of the Serbian authorities to the proclamation of the declaration of the 'republic of Kosovo.'

SHKENDIA recommends to ethnic Albanian students to 'defend Albanian schools using all available means,' and 'under no circumstances to accept the conditions from Serbian rulers' and to teach classes 'only according to the plans and programs of the legitimate organs of the republic of Kosovo.'

President of the University of Pristina, the provincial capital, Radivoje Papovic today told reporters that 'places have been secured for students from crisis regions of Croatia' at the University of Pristina.

Papovic also called on professors from Croatia 'who are threatened by the ruling Croatian Democratic Union' to move to Pristina.

### Belgrade Paper Says Croatia Planning Genocide

*LD2508134591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1241 GMT 25 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA today accuses Croatian President Franjo Tudjman of planning to start a genocide of the unprotected Serbs in the republic after August 31.

On August 22 Tudjman demanded that the Yugoslav Presidency and Army "put an end to the occupation of Croatian territories," failing which, he said, a "decisive battle will be fought, perhaps even an all-out war to defend Croatia," POLITIKA recalls.

"The letter was sent simultaneously with messages of humility and loyalty to official Berlin," POLITIKA writes.

The daily argues that in case the ultimatum is realized a genocide would be carried out against the Serbs "silently and without any realization by the world public about what is happening in Croatia."

"Fascism now walks openly in Croatia," POLITIKA says, adding that an "ustasha regime has been reestablished in Zagreb."

The Ustashas, emigre Croatian armed units created in Italy in the 1930's, later grew into an elite armed force in the "independent state of Croatia," a world war two quisling state set up on April 10, 1941, under the patronage of Nazi Germany.

POLITIKA maintains that the Croatian leadership "believes that it will this year complete the job started half a century ago."

"The support of the Germans is undisputable—and August 31 may well be proclaimed April 10. All that is needed are Serbs who offer no resistance," the daily writes.

## Bosnia-Hercegovina

### Sarajevo Tribunal Sentences Split Demonstrators

*LD2608121791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1026 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—The Sarajevo Military Court Tribunal, presided over by Judge Novica Dimic, today sentenced four men from Split for attacking a member of Army Personnel. The first defendant, Ivan Begonja, who tried to strangle soldier Svetlance Nakov, was sentenced to eight years in prison; the second defendant, Roland Zvonaric, to 18 months; the third defendant, Mato Sablic, to three years and six months; and the fourth defendant, Branko Glavinovic, to two years.

The convicted men will remain in prison until the sentence takes effect.

### Republic's Muslims Will Not Attack Serbs

*LD2608161191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1501 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic said in talks with patriarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church on Monday that Muslims in the Republic would not attack Serbs.

"I conveyed to his holiness the Serbian patriarch greetings from the peoples of Bosnia-Hercegovina and told him that, as far as relations between Serbs and Muslims are concerned, he can be calm because the Muslim people will not raise their hand against the Serbian people," Izetbegovic said.

Bishop Irinej Bulovic of Backa said after the meeting that the Serbian Orthodox Church had received Izetbegovic's statement "gladly and with confidence."

He added that he personally has the impression that Izetbegovic is a serious politician who humanly cares about the future of his people.

Izetbegovic, who initiated the meeting with Patriarch Pavle, said that he was "impressed by the personality of his holiness" the Serbian patriarch and very pleased with the outcome of the talks.

As stated, Izetbegovic and Patriarch Pavle discussed the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, relations between the Serbian and Muslim peoples and the position of the church in this multi-national and multi-confessional republic.

### Democratic Leader Fears Spread of Fighting

*AU2508182691 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Aug 91 p 2*

[Excerpt] Vienna—After the announcement of a referendum on Bosnia-Hercegovina's independence to be held in September, Stjepan Kljuic, the leader of Bosnia's Croatian Democratic Community, fears that fighting might spread to his republic. Kljuic stated in Vienna on 23 August that his republic is not in a position to defend itself in the event of hostilities on the part of Serbian nationalists, because the Territorial Defense Forces are directly controlled by the Yugoslav Army. [passage omitted]

### HDZ Asks Citizens Not To Send Youth to Army

*AU2608193891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Following the latest political-security situation in the country, especially as stated, the aggression by the Yugoslav People's Army against the Republic of Croatia, the Presidium of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Hercegovina addressed from its session today the following appeal to the public of Bosnia-Hercegovina:

The Presidium of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina appeals to the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina, particularly to the members of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina and all Croats living in Bosnia- Hercegovina, not to send their children to do their military service in the Yugoslav Army until a political solution has been found to the current Yugoslav crisis.

The political solution to the Yugoslav crisis must be arrived at only in a peaceful way. To this purpose, the Presidium of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina condemns the use of the territory of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the terrorist attacks by the army and volunteers on the Republic of Croatia. Moreover, the Presidium of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina supports the justified demands by mothers in Bosnia-Hercegovina that their sons be returned from doing their military service in (?the present) Yugoslav Army. Expecting that war battles could soon be transferred to Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Presidium of the HDZ of Bosnia-Hercegovina warns the Army once again that it will assume the historic responsibility for countless innocent victims that have fallen so far and that will fall in the future unless it withdraws to its (?barracks) and stops being a political factor in the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

### Conscript Quota Suspended Until Further Notice

*LD2708134791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 27 Aug 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, August 27 (TANJUG)—Defense Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Jerko Doko stated on Tuesday that the republican government decided on August 23 to postpone until further notice sending in the September quota of conscripts from this republic to the Yugoslav Army.

Doko told a press conference of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), a party he is a member of, that the decision was not made public until Tuesday.

He stated that at this session the republican government also specified that all municipal national defense secretariats were state organs and that they must implement the decisions of the republican government.

A decision of the Yugoslav Defense Ministry states that the Army organs should by the end of August take over matters concerning sending recruits and military records in all Yugoslav republics, except Slovenia.

The chief republican national defense inspector warned the government on Tuesday of the unconstitutionality and illegality of these decisions because the government cannot invalidate and defer the implementation of federal legislation.

Sol far the republican authorities of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia have taken decisions not to send in new recruits to the Yugoslav Army.

Some 600 parents of servicemen made their way into the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Tuesday. They demand that those servicemen who completed their service in the Yugoslav Army be discharged.

a Yugoslav defense Ministry decision prolonged the period of service by 20 days for those who should have completed their service in August and September.

## Macedonia

### Economic Talks Held With Albania in Ohrid

*LD2708085991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1940 GMT 26 Aug 91*

[Text] Ohrid, August 26 (TANJUG)—Deputy prime ministers of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Albania's Jovan Andonov and Zydi Pepa, respectively, agreed during their meeting in the Yugoslav town of Ohrid (Republic of Macedonia) to expand their economic cooperation. The two delegations described their talks as "very useful and concrete."

As learned, one of the most concrete forms of the two sides' cooperation will be the use of Albanian chromium ore by the Macedonian metallurgical works Feni of Kavadarci, which, as announced, will soon resume operation.

The Skopje iron and steel works and the Ohrid firm Emo will participate in the reconstruction of the Albanian iron and steel works in Elbasan.

The two delegations also agreed that 50,000-55,000 tonnes of sugar beet be annually produced on fields in Albania, to be later processed by the sugar refinery in the Macedonian town of Bitola.

Planned is also the construction of bakeries in a number of Albanian towns and Macedonia expressed readiness to draw up projects on the development of Albanian tourism.

Macedonia also offered Albania a comprehensive city planning and transport project report.

Macedonia's primary interest is in the construction of a free trade zone in the Albanian port of Duress, and road and railway links with that port through joint appearance before the European Community and the World Bank.

The two sides also discussed the opening of new border crossings and the development of local border trade.